RAY SHACKELTON AN
RD 1 BOX 146
BRISTOL VT 05443

AKWESASNE NOTES

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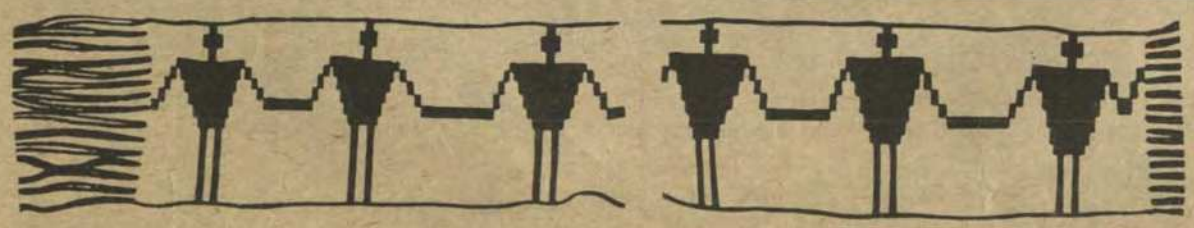

AKWESASNE NOTES

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The Akwesasne NOTES People:

Diane, Olivia, Eddie, Joyce, Kaientares, Gai–ha–tah, Keith, Adam, Verna, Wenjie, Bob, Cheryl, Segwalise, Dan, Dagmar, Berndt, Katsi, Howie, Tsiorasa, Charlene, Forrest, Carol, Jose and Sotsisowah. And the Bear (name unknown,) and Charlie.

Jack Schwartz, an attorney who has been active in Native affairs and especially in the defense of activists, says he is available for cases, trials, articles, investigations, lectures and so forth – location unimportant. People wishing to contact him will find him at 6335 SE Morrison, Portland, Oregon 97215. (503) 233-0838.

MONEY ISN'T EVERYTHING, BUT ... it helps to keep a newspaper going. Our costs are going up like everything else, but donations are not keeping pace with the cost increases. If you're one of those people who have been meaning to send us some money but just haven't gotten around to it, please, do it today so that we can keep producing this newspaper. Total costs of this issue will exceed $14,6,000.

A NEW WAY TO HELP NOTES

Your contributions to AKWESASNE NOTES can now be ttax-deductible. The Youth Project of Washington, D.C., a public foundation under 501-C-3 of the Internal Revenue Code has agreed to take NOTES under its wing as a research and educational project.

If you would like to support these efforts and receive the benefit of a tax-deductible contribution you check should be made out to Akwesasne Notes/ The Youth Project, and sent to us here at NOTES.

You will receive a letter of receipt that you can keep for your income tax records.

We still do not accept government funds, but we urge you to take advantage of this opportunity to help our message grow.

HOW IT IS WITH US

We were seated in the AKWESASNE NOTES offices at a meeting discussing the events which had occurred since Chief Loran Thompson's arrest. (See "Akwesasne Sovereignty Attacked" on p. 4 this issue.) One of the men was reading a list of the probable indictees arising out of the May 29 occupation of the Trustees' offices. As he read off the names, we sat in stunned silence. The list included most of the Chiefs of the Mohawk Nation, some of the leading spiritual leaders in the Northeast, and some Chiefs of the other nations of the Six Nations Confederacy. The list also included a majority of the AKWESASNE NOTES Steering Committee and the NOTES staff. The successful prosecution of the people on the list would be a crippling blow to the Mohawk Nation, the Six Nations, and AKWESASNE NOTES.

This is not the first time that the elected Trustees and the government have moved against the Mohawk Nation, AKEWSASNE NOTES and its supporters. In 1972 a group of vigilantes from the Elected system came on to the property of one of the Mohawk Chiefs and siezed a house trailer which was occupied by a young Mohawk man and his wife. The law enforcement agencies of Franklin County and New York State did not see fit to prosecute any of the Elected system's people for that action, although it involved the unlawful confiscation of a young couple's home and all their possessions.

For years, rumors have been circulated to the effect that AKWESASNE NOTES has a primarily non-Indian staff and that there are no Indians associated with its production. Those rumors are, as anyone associated with AKWESASNE NOTES knows, completely false. NOTES is the official publication of the Mohawk Nation, and NOTES and WASSAJA are the only independent national Native publications operating in the United States. Because of this, NOTES is a frequent target of groups and individuals who oppose the efforts we represent in the movement toward the decolonization of Native Peoples.

The events of the past few months have created another crisis in our history as a publication. Our revenues have declined seriously over that period, and our creditors are telling us that they need money immediately if we are to continue publishing. At this point, as perhaps never before in our history, we need our reader's support in the form of donations to the newspaper and letters and telegrams to governmental officials which express concern and support for the people at Akwesasne.

There is a positive side to our present situation, too. The attack against the Mohawk Nation has brought our people together in the way that these kinds of attacks can

The traditional People at Akwesasne have carried a message throughout North America and the world. That message focuses on the need of Native peoples to assert themselves as sovereign nations, to develop a real self-reliance and self-sufficiency, to redevelop community and to continue the spiritual life of our Peoples. Our resolve to continue and push forward that work has been strengthened in recent weeks by the attack against our community and our leaders. We are in crisis, but our hearts are strong and growing stronger. One of our leaders expressed our present conditions at a meeting of the people on at the encampment a few days before we went to press. We must carry on this struggle, he said, as our forefathers did, and as our children coming behind us must do. And we must carry this struggle at this time so that the burden which our children inherit from us will be a lighter one than the burden which we must carry.

It is to that spirit that we dedicate this issue of AKWESASNE NOTES. We are beset by almost overwhelming problems, but our combined spirits are strong. In the spirit of unity and with a dedication to build a better life for our children and the generations to come, we send our greetings to our readers and the people who are in struggle everywhere.

AKWESASNE NOTES People

YOU ARE ON INDIAN LAND

A radio program series produced by AKWESASNE NOTES won much aclaim when aired by 200 National Public Radio stations. The following nine cassettes are programs from that series. We are continuing to make available materials for your class, school, library, or for your personal invormation. Tapes available Jan. 1, 1979.

Statement From the Longhouse

An official statement of the traditional government of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne. Akwesasne is located on the St. Lawrence River. It borders Canada on one side, and the United States on the other. This tape was recorded during an interview granted to CBC. Mohawk leaders speak on the issue of sovereignty. One of the Mohawk sub-chiefs speaks of the importance of nature and the rights of all people to follow their original instructions. Also included are highlights of a short speech by Buchanan of the Black Resource Center in Bisban, Austrailia, which gives an introduction to the situation of Native people in Austrailia.

Natural World Principles and Treaties

Oren Lyons, Iroquois statesman from Onondaga, talks about living in the natural world and the importance of the treaties in the survival of the natural world. Highly recommended.

Wounded Knee Epilogue

Comprehensive overview of the 1973 Wounded Knee controversy and subsequent trials. Included are reports from inside the occupied village, and at trials with key figures – Mans, Banks, Moves Camp, and the lawyers. For this program Kevin McKiernan of Minnesota Public Radio received first place in the 11th annual Armstrong Awards for excellence in programming.

I Am Native

natural people of Aztlan, talks about being "Chicano," and about finding his direction. "You never can be free being something you are not." Includes 2 poems plus music from the Mestizo album.

Dene Nation

Natural world leaders along the proposed route of the Mackenzie Valley pipeline address Canada's Berger Inquiry about the wide-ranging effects of the most expensive and destructive project ever undertaken by Canada. Also highlights Native folk singers and their songs about their land.

Contributions of Native People

Tehanetorens (Ray Fadden) gives a talk on the many contributions the Native people have given to the world – an excellent broad perspective of the misconceptions that non-Indians too often have of Native peoples. Fine material for young people in the process of unlearning Indian stereotypes.

Alcatraz Is Not An Island

Mohawk Poet Peter Blue Cloud looks at the 1969 occupation of Alcatraz in retrospect. Blue Cloud edited the book *Alcatraz Is Not An Island*, and remembers Mohawk leader Richard Oakes. Highlighted by Oakes' speech explaining that the occupation of our lands is an extension of the Alcatraz Island occupation.

God Is Red

Vine Deloria Jr., noted Lakota philosopher, author, and attorney, speaks on the importance of Native religious values for the Native movement and the future of North America. He offers an alternative to Christianity through a re rn of Native concepts of nature which have roots in this land.

History of the Iroquois Confederacy

Tehanetorens, founder and director of the Six Nations Museum in Onchiota, reads a beaded belt explaining the history of the Six Nations – the first true democracy which the United States constitution is based on.

Price: $5 ea., $38.00 per set of nine. Order from AKWESASNE NOTES

BACK ISSUES FOR $6

The entire set of available back issues of AKWESASNE NOTES is available at $6.00 per set. There are, as supplies hold, approximately twenty-four issues of the newspaper in each set.

Early issues of AKWESASNE NOTES are no longer in print, and our current stock is dwindling. Therefore, we make this offer to people who may have a need of this invaluable repository of information.

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS NEWSPAPER

Just write to us, and we'll add your name to the mailing list. There is no fixed subscription price–but that does not mean the paper is free. Printing alone for this issue will cost over $6,000, and rising postage costs will come to about $4,000. And there are other expenses – typesetting equipment, typewriters, ribbons, paper supplies, etc., and that doesn't include costs for bare subsistence for our full-time volunteer staff. We are not funded by universities, governments, or even advertising.

Our money comes from our readers, most of it in small donations such as $1, $5, $10. Some people have lots of money, others have none – we ask people to do what they can. If you want the paper, we're glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that – your help will assist us in continuing our work.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have accumulated.

THINKING ABOUT MOVING? JUST MOVED?

Let us know right away so we can change your address. If you are not at the address on our list, either the paper will be forwarded at a high cost to you, or it will be destroyed and NOTES will receive a notice for which we have to pay 25 cents. More than five percent of our readers move between issues, and it would mean more than $700 cost to us, plus the loss of more than 3,000 newspapers. Please be sure to send in your old address or an old address label when you send us your new address. That way, you won't be sent two copies, and neither you nor us will need to pay any extra postage.

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KEEP US STRONG!

According to our own estimates, AKWESASNE NOTES is read with interest by over 100,000 readers each issue, and probably reaches conservatively three or four times that number. NOTES is the largest and fastest growing Native newspaper in North America, and we believe that it may be the largest authentic Native publication in the Western world. We are active, and we are growing, we think, because we are serving a unique purpose – to bring to our readers an understanding and a vision of the world which has been all but forgotten by Western Man, and thus inevitably ignored by other publications.

To that end, our writers explore many aspects of concern of our times, from issues usually associated with ecology, to issues dealing with political repression, movements, alternative technology, self-sufficiency, and social analysis. In addition to these objectives, NOTES is also one of the leaders in the publication of Native poetry and is one of the centers of Native art production and distribution. NOTES is more than a news magazine – it is an exploration of Twentieth Century society, a view of these difficult times.

People from all walks of life read and correspond with NOTES. The success of our effort depends on the responses of our readers. We constantly need news clippings of events in Indian country and around the world – the kind of news people should know about. And, of course, we always have a use for photographs, recordings of taped interviews or speeches, and articles which people feel may be of interest to an international audience. Helping NOTES to grow is a way of helping many people gain in consciousness, and reading NOTES is a way of supporting your own personal growth.

We would like to have many more readers of NOTES. You can help this paper grow by encouraging your friends and acquaintances to read some of the articles you think may interest them. NOTES is not simply a Native newspaper – it is a newspaper which has a message for all peoples who are striving in some ways for a better future.

Ours is a most difficult task, for we are trying to help people who have some kind of interest and concern for their people to understand and to unite with other peoples who have what appear on the surface to be separate and different concerns. We believe that the concerned people can come to one mind about their concerns, and we would like to be a part of the process which may help this to happen. But we are, after all, only a newspaper, a reflection – you, the reader, are a participant in the processes which make the kind of life we and our children will lead in this world. We offer our work as a tool in your work – help us grow so that NOTES will be a stronger tool. Promote NOTES – tell people about it, generate interest in the issues we cover. In that way, we will all grow stronger.

MICROFILM

AKWESASNE NOTES is available on microfilm and microfiche from a number of sources:

University Microfilms ($4.60 and $6/year)
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105

Microfilm Corporation of America
21 Harristown Road
Glen Rock, New Jersey 07452

KTO Microform
Kraus-Thomson Organization Ltd.
Rte 100
Milwood, N.Y. 10546

Wholesale

AKWESASNE NOTES is proud to offer what is probably the finest line of authentic Native crafts available anywhere in North America. Of special interest is the line of hand crafted baskets made of black ash splints and sweet grass. Mohawk basket makers are world famous for their excellent craftsmanship and produce baskets of a quality unsurpassed at any price. These baskets are authentic products made for practical use and the pack baskets, especially, are light-weight, sturdy, and in every way superior to any of the back-pack apparatus made of canvas or aluminum. Other baskets which are available include corn washing baskets, storage baskets, and fancy ewing baskets. There are also kettle baskets, pin cushions, and strawberry baskets.

In addition to baskets, we carry a fine line of beaded moccasins, earrings, necklaces, hair ties, chokers, and other products. Most of these products are one-of-a-kind items. A typical wholesale order would have a retail value of $133. Your price would be $100 plus a few dollars shipping. Order from: Kaientares

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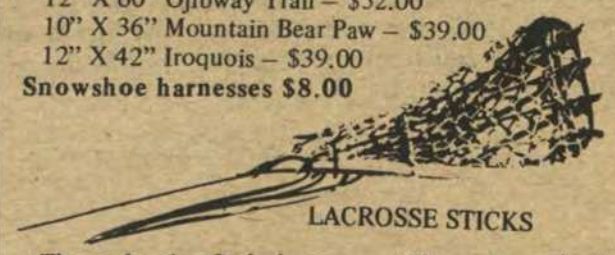

LACROSSE STICKS

These handcrafted lacrosse sticks are made by Mohawk crafts people at Akwesasne. The sticks are made of hickory and are handlaced with nylon cord and leather. These find sticks have been manufactured by Mohawk crafts people for over 40 years.

We are featuring the pro leather stick – order no. 461106 – at $29.00 each. Include a small fee for shipping charges and insurance. For our friends who want a sample of these fine sticks, we are featuring a 12" MINI STICK (a souvenier lacrosse stick), order no. 461198 for $4.00 each. Order from:

Insurance and Shipping charges not included

Akwesasne Sovereignty Attacked!

"Now, it is hardly conceivable that the recent attempts on the part of the state and the federal governments to condemn Indian property for public works or to make it uninhabitable by flooding it are the results of a concerted policy. Yet these efforts have certainly been characterized by total ignorance of Iroquois civilization and a contemptuous disregard of those rights of the Six Nations Confederacy which were assumed to be guaranteed them by treaty." From *Apologies to the Iroquois*, by Edmund Wilson.

Indictments have been handed down and arrest warrants have been issued against 23 people of the Mohawk Nation and the Six Nations Confederacy including, it is believed, a majority of the Mohawk Nation's Chiefs Council and the Majority of the staff of *Akwesasne Notes*. Vigilante squads have been "deputized" and have allegedly been armed, some with automatic weapons, by the elective system at Akwesasne. A local District Attorney has taken a personal vengeance in the matter, convening the Grand Jury to obtain indictments which arose out of a confrontation and occupation of tribal offices on the Akwesasne Territory. State and Federal officials have been largely uninterested in intervening in the matter, preferring instead to allow the local police agencies to serve warrants against the people and the Chiefs of the Mohawk Nation and the Six Nations.

As we go to press, the Longhouse people are encamped on grounds surrounding Chief Loran Thompson's residence and the operations offices of *Akwesasne Notes*. State officials have threatened an armed assault by Olympic SWAT teams to effect arrests, and there is an air of apprehension and terror on the Akwesasne Territory. The Mohawk Nation has sent out a call for help and support to people throughout the world. The issues at hand are not local in nature. The issues are the sovereignty and integrity of the Native peoples, the question of the rights of peoples under colonial systems, the rights of Native peoples as outlined in international convents – especially the Helsinki accords – the rights of peoples to survive as peoples. And the issues involve the rights of peoples to resist acts of genocide committed by huge nation states.

At around 11:00 a.m. on May 22, Kanaserakah (Loran Thompson), a chief of the Mohawk Nation, learned of the presence of intruders on property belonging to the Thompson family. He and Joe Swamp went to the eara in question to investigate. They discovered a small group of workers from the Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) who were cutting down trees to clear a path six feet wide and some 360 – 365 feet into land owned by the late James Thompson (Loran's father).

The stated purpose offered for the destruction of prime timber and woodlot was to clear a path for the construction of a fence designed to enclose the Akwesasne Territory. The YACC workers and Loran Thompson proceeded to discuss the matter. Chief Thompson allegedly informed the YACC crew that he was forced to confiscate their chainsaws until the matter of trespass and destruction of property could be resolved.

As a matter of fact, there were no other courses of action available. A New York State court could not hear the matter because it took place outside of their jurisdiction. Thompson could not take the matter to the Trustees because the whole thing (about the fence) was their idea in the first place. Going to the Trustees would have been a simple case of going to the wolf to guard the chickens. Loran Thompson took the only other course of action available to him which might have provided him with relief. He allegedly confiscated the chainsaws and began the process by which a negotiated settlement of the dispute might be reached.

Around noon, Akwesasne Police officer Warren Conners and YACC supervisor Richard Jacobs arrived at Loran's home. In the ensuing discussion, an agreement was reached concerning a course of action to begin to resolve what was by now a clear and growing dispute. The agreement was, in short, that the Akwesasne Police and the YACC director would hold off any further action in this matter until Monday, by which time Chief Thompson would have an opportunity to present the matter to the Mohawk Nation Council. On Monday (May 28) presumably all parties concerned would come together to negotiate some kind of resolution to the dispute.

A few hours later, Harris G. Cole, headman of the Akwesasne Police, appeared at the Thompson residence. Witnesses on the scene allege that they could detect the presence of alcohol on Cole's breath. Cole threatened Chief Thompson, stating that unless the confiscated equipment was returned immediately, an arrest warrant would be obtained. The agreement to hold off any action until the following Monday was already beginning to wear thin.

At this point, it is important to point out some clear facts. First, no one was in any danger of physical violence, either threatened or implied. Second, no one's property was threatened, except perhaps the property of the Thompson family. Third, the act of confiscating equipment was an act which was clearly intended to halt the immediate destruction of property and was not an act of theft as that term is normally understood. Fourth, an agreement had been reached which could be expected to lead to a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the dispute. By all reasonable logic, that issue should have been settled for that day, to await further action. If the purpose of a police agency is to protect the lives and property of the people of the community they serve, that purpose had been served to the best interests of all concerned at the moment that the police reached an agreement with Chief Thompson to withhold all action in the matter until the following Monday.

That afternoon, the activity at the Loran Thompson residence included planting potatoes and construction of a storage shed. Various members of the Mohawk Nation dropped in to check on the status of the dispute. Chief Thompson assured everyone that he expected no further difficulties that day. At about 8:00 p.m., two foreign exchange students arrived at the Thompson home and asked for an interview. The students told Chief Thompson that they were in America to learn, and they wanted to talk to him about the Native peoples. Chief Thompson consented. At this point there was no threat of violence or damage to anyone's person or property. There was no clear–cut need for or expectation of any "law enforcement" activity. "Law enforcement," however, is exactly what was to be.

At 8:30 the Akwesasne Police, accompanied by a member of the Bureau of Criminal Investigations (New York State Police) knocked on Chief Thompson's door. They stated that they had a warrant for Chief Thompson's arrest. The latter repeated a position that he had stated earlier, explaining that he was not subject to New York State's Laws in the Mohawk Territory and that, in any case, the warrant was improperly drawn because it indicated that his residence was located in the Town of Bombay, County of Franklin. (The Town of Bombay and Franklin County do not extend into the Mohawk Territory.) He informed the arresting officers that he would not cooperate with them in the process of the arrest, and that it was his duty as a chief of the Mohawk Nation to follow the laws of the Mohawk Nation. The BCI called in reinforcements. There were a number of people in the Thompson household at the time of this incident, including some neighbors, the foreign students, and Chief Thompson's small children. The police then attacked, and in the ensuing scuffle a neighbor, 73-year-old Mary Tebo was injured and hospitalized.

Later that same evening, the Mohawk Nation Chiefs Council went to Malone to meet with Major Moochler of Troop B – New York State Police – to try to resolve the situation through negotiations. That effort was rejected by the State Police.

Within a matter of hours, the issues involved had changed dramatically. The warrant for the arrest of Chief Thompson alleged that an act of larceny in the third degree had been committed, and the matter had been escalated from a dispute between members of the Mohawk community at Akwesasne to a conflict between the jurisdiction of the Mohawk Nation and that of the State of New York. What began as an incident involving the trespass against and destruction of property and the subsequent confiscation of equipment pending a negotiated settlement had resulted in the assault and arrest of a Mohawk chief, and an injury to an elderly

MOHAWK NATION CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

Mohawk Nation and other Six Nations chiefs at the historic United Nations conference on Discrimination against the Indigenous Populations of the Western Hemisphere, Geneva Switzerland, September, 1979. Chief Loran Thompson is second from right.

woman of the Mohawk nation by external police forces.

The move by the New York State Trustees to involve a third party (namely the military force known as the N.Y. State Police, and the Franklin County Court) introduced an entirely new element into the conflict. The principle at issue no longer was a Mohawk versus Mohawk dispute. It now involved the much broader question of whether or not New York's criminal code is applicable on the sovereign territory of the Mohawk Nation.

This particular police action was not an action to protect lives or property. It was an act intended to create a spark of violence and a show of force which would give the Trustees a feeling of power while endangering the lives and well-being of the people of Akwesasne. It was an action which will have the effect of opening a Pandora's Box of ills and problems for the Mohawk people, and one which could seriously threaten the well–being and peace of the Mohawk people for generations to come. And it was, as the coming events will prove, an act which pitted the Mohawk people against the power of New York State and its functionaires, the Elected Trustees.

The Trustees intended that the New York State militia and New York's criminal code would be used as an axe held over the heads of the people, an axe wielded by New York's military. At the moment of Chief Thompson's arrest, that axe was wielded by the Trustees. It is, however, a double-edged axe which the Trustees have set loose, one which threatens not only those people who do not agree with the policies of the Elected Trustees, but one which also ultimately has the power to destroy Akwesasne as a Mohawk community.

At the moment preceding Chief Thompson's arrest, there were only three possible ways in which the situation could have been resolved: arbitration, negotiation, or armed conflict. The Elected Trustees chose armed force. The Mohawk Nation Council had left the door open for arbitration and negotiation for seven days, but following the brutal arrest, the die was cast.

The Akwesasne Police were summoned to appear before the Mohawk Nation on Wednesday, May 23. Various speakers explained to these five men that their actions – as a military arm of an alien government – could not be allowed to continue in the Mohawk Territory. The police were given twenty–four hours in which to give the Mohawk people their decision – to resign and disband or not to resign and disband. Their decision was made known to the Mohawk Nation by way of a letter, hand delivered, the following day by Harris G. Cole to Loran Thompson. They had not resigned.

On May 24, a letter from the Mohawk Nation Longhouse Council of Chiefs went out to the Akwesasne Police indicating that they would be given three explanations and three opportunities to resign and disband the alien force. This three–warnings sytem is a custom of the Iroquois people and is a prescription of the laws and customs governing the Mohawk people, to be used under certain circumstances. The sense of that law and custom is to provide for the use of reason and good words to show the errant individual the correct and proper path of action in the interest of all the Mohawk people. Under certain circumstances, that system is used in order to give the person or persons three opportunities to correct their actions and to follow the laws and customs of the people. The Mohawk Nation used this reasoning process because they realized that the Akwesasne Police did not know the seriousness of the situation they had created or the danger to the peace and well–being of the people which would result.

Akwesasne Police had participated in the arrest of a Chief of the Confederacy. In so doing, they did not attack Loran Thompson as an individual, but had attacked the laws and customs of the Mohawk Nation and the Six Nations Confederacy and had created a threat to the existence and well-being of the whole of the Mohawk people and the Six Nations.

The attack against Chief Thompson was clearly an attack against the Mohawk people as a people. The Akwesasne Police who were implementing that attack were doing so as deputies of Franklin County and were clearly violating the laws and customs of the Mohawk Nation which forbids its members to recognize or establish the authority of law of a foreign people or government in the Mohawk Territory. Those principles were explained to the Akwesasne Police clearly and in detail, and the warnings were issued in an attempt to create an opportunity to avoid a more serious conflict.

On May 26, three Chiefs from the Mohawk Nation carried a message to the other nations gathered at the Grand Council. The member nations listened to the message and adjourned their council in a historic move to come to the aid of the Mohawk People. On May 27th and 28th, a Six Nations meeting was convened at the Mohawk Nation Longhouse at Akwesasne. One of the results of that meeting was that several letters were sent by the Six Nations and the Mohawk Nation to the Akwesasne Police and to President Carter. Those letters were hand-carried.

The Mohawk Nation Council convened again on May 29th to assemble to carry out the delivery of the third and final request issued to the Akwesasne Police. At 1:00 p.m., the Chiefs led the Mohawk Nation on a peaceful walk from the Longhouse to the Akwesasne Police headquarters a short distance away. All during the walk the sounds of drums could be heard. The people of the nations carried no weapons and bore only "peace and goodwill in their minds and hearts for their brothers who had gone astray."

The Chiefs spoke to the Akwesasne Police using only good words and words of wisdom. They asked the police again – for the third time – to resign and to disband. They refused. The Chiefs asked if that was their final answer. The police said it was. The Chiefs then told the Police along with the other alien forces present (St. Regis Band Councillors Angus Bonaparte and Lawrence Francis, along with several members of their police force, all from the "Canadian side") that the matter was out of their hands. The issue was now in the hands of the people.

There was a minor scuffle. The police were quickly disarmed and removed from their position, and the building was occupied.

Somehow the "call to aid" siren was activated and New York State Police arrived on the scene. The State Police were quickly confronted by several chiefs and an attorney. At no time did the State Police try to force their way into the grounds. They saw that the situation was under control and the two parties were talking. Harris Cole placed a radio message to a police dispatcher requesting assistance from surrounding police agencies. The dispatcher returned a negative response to the request. Cole managed a pained expression and an exasperated sigh. In his moment of need, the local non-Indian police agencies turned a deaf ear to his request for backup. Several of his officers had suffered bruises and torn clothing in the scuffle, and one had sustained a cut which required five stitches to close. All had lost sidearms and a good deal of face, but no one was seriously injured.

Meanwhile the barn-like community building which housed the Akwesasne police was occupied by several hundred members of the Iroquois Confederacy. Instructions were passed among the occupiers to leave all papers and equipment intact. At about 7:00 p.m. Reginald White, a Trustee, requested permission to enter the community building to ascertain that everything was in order. Permission was granted and White was escorted through the building.

Later that evening the Trustees, in the company of their new-found allies the St. Regis (Canadian) Band Councillors, demanded the return of "their" building. Shortly after the request was made an agreement was reached. The People of the Mohawk Nation discussed the situation and decided that in the interest of avoiding further violence among Mohawks, they would call an end to the occupation of the building. The people returned to the Longhouse.

On Sunday June 3, 1979, the Mohawk Nation Council of Chiefs and the people of the Longhouse appointed a six person fact-finding committee. A letter was sent to the Trustees informing them of these appointments. The letter suggested that the Trustees set the date, time and place for initial discussions to resolve the conflicts which had rocked the Akwesasne Territory for the previous two weeks. Later during the week, however, word circulated through the community that the Trustees had no intention of meeting with anyone to discuss negotiations.

On June 7, 1979, Loran Thompson received notification from the Franklin County District Attorney's Office that his case would be placed before the County Grand Jury on June 8. Chief Thompson and Joseph Swamp were indicted on June 20 – Chief Thompson for grand larceny third degree and resisting arrest; Joseph Swamp for grand larceny third degree. An arraignment hearing was set for July 5, 1979. The matter was, at this point, front–page news in the local papers, and had become something of an issue to local politicians who seemed to be confused about the issues. A Franklin County legislator, David B. Vanderwalker of Santa Clara (N.Y.) blasted Longhouse people in a statement to the *Malone Evening Telegram* on June 22, 1979. "If they are a free and sovereign nation as some of them claim," he said, "let them apply for government funds through foreign aid."

Dr. David P. Gorman, a Malone physician, sent a long editorial to the local newspapers. His analysis outlined some of the real issues at stake, issues which have found expression in recent years in the takeover at Alcatraz, at the BIA building, at Wounded Knee, and dozens of other actions. His statement read in part:

"Prior to discovery of America by European people,

MOHAWK NATION CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

Mohawk chiefs and people walk to the Tribal Police offices to deliver third warning--a call for the police to resign and disband. The Police refused and the People were forced to disarm them and remove them.

Indians were self-sufficient all over the Western Hemisphere. In Canada and the United States, Indian people were gradually forced to live on ever smaller and more worthless tracts of land. Finally Indian nations such as the Senecas, who were primarily farmers, had too little land to feed their people.

"The Plains Indians, also crowded onto small reservations, could find insufficient game to feed their families. The government, to keep them from starving, would furnish them with food and supplies. With (each) change of elective officials, economies would be attempted. Graft and corruption reduced supplies further. Finally, supplies would become insufficient and much suffering and death resulted.

"The situation is much the same now, except instead of supplies, welfare checks are given and these are minimized as much as the various state laws allow.

"Jobs are almost non-existent on reservations and there is an atmosphere of hopelessness and apathy among the people for improving their situation. There has been almost a complete and deliberate destruction of the Indian's culture and traditional way of life. During the past 30 years, schools have done much to make these proud people ashamed of their Indian heritage. Is there any wonder that alcoholism is such a large problem among Indian people?

"At Akwesasne, the reservation is almost bordered by the St. Regis, the Grasse, the Salmon and the St. Lawrence Rivers, the first three rivers polluted by human excrement, and the last by human excrement and industrial chemicals. They have to drink this water or well water originating in the flow from these rivers. The air is badly polluted by the aluminum plants and the paper plant built on the reservation's west side, so the prevailing West Winds would carry the pollution from the stacks onto the Indian land. Note that Reynolds did not build their plant on the West side of Massena, but a few hundred yards from the edge of the reservation. It is said that 25,000 tons of fluorides have been desposited on Akwesasne by Reynolds alone.

"Faced with these problems the leaders of Indian people have moved in two different directions. The leaders of the elective systems try to help their people by obtaining funding from State and Federal governments for projects such as the cultural center, the library, the medical center, and schools. It is hoped by the leaders of the elective system that these projects will reduce illness, improve education and improve the quality of life for the people of Akwesasne.

"One may look at Indians following the elected system as one of the many ethnic groups of the United States, but it is important to think of the traditional Indians as independent nations as Europeans do, or it is impossible for a non–Indian to understand what they are trying to do.

"Years ago the United States made valid treaties with Indian Nations throughout the U.S. territories. The Constitution of the United States declares that treaties between nations are the supreme law of the land and take precedence over all Federal and State laws. Large amounts of land are at stake. The Six Nations would like these claims settled in international courts so the people will have enough land to be self-sufficient and proud of their Indian heritage. The elective system leaders would like to settle these claims in U.S. claims courts to obtain money for their people.

"The government, in order to delay or prevent any settlement of these claims and to pave the way for power companies to obtain the coal and uranium under reservation lands in the West attempts to divide Indian people against themselves.

"The Federal government is happy to pour money into the Akwesasne reservation because, as Franklin D. Roosevelt proved in the late 30s, big Federal spending is the best way to ally and control people. Jobs are created by these Federal projects and the people holding these jobs come to depend on their jobs to pay their bills and continue their way of life. These people will vote any way the government through the elective leaders want them to vote because their jobs depend on it. Their jobs also depend on the continuance of Federal projects which deteriorate as time passes, wasting the U.S. taxpayer's money.

MOHAWK NATION CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

Indians Evicting Indians; Action Spells Trouble on Reservation

1973

Following is the first of a series of stories by Eleanor L. Dumas, Times Massena Bureau team correspondent, on the widening of differences between the longhouse and elected factions on the St. Regis Mohawk Indian Reservation (Akwesasne).

By ELEANOR L. DUMAS

Times Massena Bureau

MASSENA — The conti... ing struggle between ...longhouse and elected ...tions of the St. Regis Mo... Indian Reservation (A... ...olved in...

people off of Mohawk land because they don't like the ... they're ... things ... "There are ...ilies on ... because of our hair or our talking Mohawk or the way we hold our heads high as we go about — and so they are always trying to discredit us and hassle us with methods of cheap American politics. ...y are scared of us, in ... white people ... been ... have ...

A LITTLE HISTORY

MAY 19, 19...

Mohawk's Claim for Land B... Will Be Decided by Rockef...

MAY 19 19...

ALBANY, N.Y. (UPI) —It ... will be up to Governor Rock... efeller to decide if Mohawk Indians on the St. Regis Reservation have any lega... laim to a disputed squar... ile of land in the Frankl... ounty village of Fort Covin... n.

Assemblyman Glenn ... ris, R-Canada Lake, s... y he was returning ...efeller his bill wh... convey the land t... for use as a site ...

week, Harris re... from the gov... er the In... hey owned th...

"I'm not saying they're right or they're wrong," Harris said. "I say it should be resolved in the court. In my ... bill will not re... of state. They noted ...

was one of t... squares" specifica... ed under a 1796 t... deeded other la... describes ...

Indian Chiefs in Clash Over Pow...

State Law Elected Chiefs Approve Power Company Plan; Life Clan Chief Object.

(Special to The Times.)

Albany, May 13.—A political clash between life clan chiefs of the St. Regis Indian reservation, at Hogansburg, and the chiefs elected under the state Indian ... was reflected in a hearing be... Public Service Commissioner ... R. Lunn here Thursday ... on an application by ... New York Power cor... oval of a contract ... ly in part of ... provides ... pany's ... to ...

...ena.

POLICE GUARD INDIAN VOTIN...

Malone, June 14. (...)—State p... lice stood guard yesterday as Mo... hawk Indians elected chiefs an... sub-chiefs for the first time unde... a state-prescribed "Democrati... system."

Andrew Bero was elected chief and Philip Tarbell sub-chief for three-year terms in the poll to which so-called "clan mothers" at the St. Regis reservation strongly objected.

The "clan mothers"—tribal squaws—formerly selected chiefs for lifetime tenures.

In June, 1948, the women padlocked the council house and successfully resisted efforts to conduct a "democratic" election. The latter system was supported by an Indian faction.

Frank Rork has been serving as tribal chief since last Sept. 30, by appointment of Milton J. Valois Malone, state Indian agent. ...ointed after the last ...as not held. Valois ...ree ...hiefs. Laf... ...ence. ...ne fifth ...ques are ...1,175 for ...fifth. ...Keller ...ulation of ...reservation.

It was further testified by Kel... that if further requests for ...tricity are received by the cor... ...tion, application will be made ... commission for authority ...nd the lines beyond the ... limitations contemplated

INDIANS OPPOSE ELECTION FORM

Massena, June 11, 1935 — Dissatisfied ... over their present form of government ... and wanting to revert back 40 years to ... the old regime, 100 men and women ... residing on the St. Regis Indian ... servation, 13 miles northeast of ... sena, decided that there would be no ... election of the chief Monday and ... the council house during a sus... the reservation leaders.

The 1930 ... declared, showed a population of ... over 900 on the reservation.

Indian Long House Syst... Is Dealt Blow by Coun...

June 18 1937

Feb. 18

St. Regis Tenants' Victory Order Seen as Victory For Elective Chiefs

Malone, Feb. 18.—Supreme Court Justice Ellsworth C. Lawrence Wednesday granted an order for four tenants from the St. Regis Indian reservation on the east side of the ... property on the St. Regis Indian ... reservation. This action was the case was ar... two factions on the ... Growth of a squat... hereits of electi... life chief or Lo... government. T... was in ... illegal ...

Andrew Sarah Ch... Katie Chubb Her... Chubb Cook, Le... bideau, Andrew ... Gray. The plai... to the property ... inheritance fro... asserted the d... right and ag... recognizing ... The defen... chiefs, t... ry o...

REGIS ELECTION

...a, June 14, 1949 – On the St. ...dian REservation, 13 miles out ...ne, a new form of election for ...d sub-chief took place yesterday. ...he first time in the history that ...embers of the only remaining ...f Mohawks left in the country ...ld a democratic election and state ...were on hand to give assistance in ...ntaining of order. ...as been ...

New Chiefs Elected By St. Regis Indians

Election Held Despite Opposition of Clan Mother Bloc.

Oct 1, 1948

Malone, Oct. 1 (...)—New chiefs ... have been elected under the state-... authorized three chief tribal sys... tem to rule the Mohawk Indians ... at the nearby St. Regis reserva... tion.

The election originally was ... scheduled for last June, but it was ... opposed by clan mothers who ad... ...to the tribal sys... chiefs.

"The present controversy arose from the deterioration of these projects. CETA money was obtained to build a perimeter fence around the reservation, a project of no benefit to the people at all except for the jobs it created. However, a perimeter fence built by Indians would, for hundreds of years, have supported the claim that their land was limited to the land inside this fence. The Longhouse Chief, Loran Thompson, was outspoken against its construction.

"A swath of land 80 feet wide and 200 feet long was cleared on the Thompson land before he discovered the intrusion. No easements were obtained making the project illegal by either Longhouse or State–Federal law.

"He chased CETA workers off his land and confiscated their equipment as evidence of who cut his trees and brush.

"Eight State Troopers and three Akwesasne Police went to the home of this leader, respected not only in this country but in Europe as well. Thompson had just returned from a speaking tour in Holland where he spoke on radio, T.V. and to many groups about Native American problems.

"Thompson was mauled and roughed up by the police in front of his children. At the time the police entered Mr. Thompson's home, two students, one from Germany and one from South Africa, were interviewing Mr. Thompson on Native American problems. They were tape recording the interview. The recorder was on and passed unnoticed by the police. Mr. Thompson's pain and his children's screams were all recorded during the terrible incident. A 72-year-old Indian lady was struck with a club and hospitalized. Then Thompson was arrested under New York State law and jailed. Misleading news articles in the *Malone Evening Telegram* and (Syracuse) *Post Standard* implied that he was a common thief stealing tools in the Hogansburg area. The circumstances of his arrest precipitated the present crisis.

Is that amount of people force necessary to recover a couple of chain saws and a brush cutter?

"It is important to realize that the Indians at Akwesasne have no representation in the New York State legislature or in the U.S. Congress. Thus, they have no input into State or Federal law at all. As a result, the laws are in reality the laws of a power foreign to reservation people. They are administered by police which are paid with State and Federal money, so neither the State Police nor the Akwesasne Police represent the interest of the people. Instead they represent the interest of the outside government. Needless to say, such a law system cannot work and is unacceptable. It causes many problems for reservation people and for those policemen who try to be fair.

"The Longhouse People, incensed at the physical abuse of one of their leaders by the police, gathered in Akwesasne and demanded the resignation of the Akwesasne Police on the grounds that they had become tools of their oppressors. They promised to obtain other jobs for them and to provide for their families. They favor a volunteer police force made up from both groups.

"When the Akwesasne Police refused to resign, they were given three warnings. Then the police headquarters was attacked by an unarmed group of people and the police forced to resign. A few hours later the headquarters building or Council House was returned to the elective leaders. Representatives of the Longhouse protested the actions of the State police at a White House conference as prescribed by treaty.

"Great tension was created between the traditional Indians and the elective Indians who felt their government jobs would be threatened if the Longhouse leaders had their way. The elective group threatened to attack the Longhouse with guns. Outright armed conflict between the two groups was narrowly avoided. Had fighting or killing occurred, the resulting hatred would for generations prevent the Indians at Akwesasne from uniting for their common good. Until these groups join together, neither group will have enough strength to make meaningful progress at Akwesasne, and that reservation will remain the hellhole it now is.

"As long as the government encourages them to live on welfare, as long as the leaders are unable to deal with the problems of alcoholism and drug abuse, these people may be a problem to each other and to people living nearby the reservations. But they will never cause a serious problem for the United States government by obtaining enough land to again become a self-sufficient and truly sovereign nation."

On the arraignment date, (July 5) the chiefs of the Mohawk Nation met in council and they and the People of the Longhouse instructed Loran Thompson and Joseph Swamp to not appear for the arraignment. Lawyers for the Mohawk Nation spoke with the judge prior to the court session to request the judge to meet in his chambers with chiefs, clan mothers, and other citizens of the Mohawk Nation. Judge Plumadore agreed to this request and the Chiefs explained to him the treaty agreements between the Six Nations and the United States. The judge was also informed that this incident was an internal matter between the traditional government and the New York State–imposed tribal Trustee government, and that discussions have taken place with representatives of the Six Nations and the Mohawk Nation, the U.S. Departments of Interior and Justice, and a White House Assistant to bring the whole matter to a peaceful solution.

R.T. Coulter, attorney for the Mohawk Nation, told the court that the facts of the case may appear trivial, but "it's of enormous importance when it comes to the laws of the Longhouse and the law of the Mohawk Nation... What's at stake here for the Longhouse Chiefs is their law, and, in fact, their sacred duty to maintain that law and their way of life." Sakokwenonkwas (Chief Thomas Porter) described the situation in stronger terms: "An attempt is being made to take (them) from the clenched hands of the Chiefs... The Grand Council of the Iroquois Confederacy has agreed that one of our chiefs will not be taken by another nation to be judged. That decision was based on laws the Creator gave the Mohawk Nation.... (it is) our spiritual understanding as well as our legal understanding."

Judge Plumadore adjourned the matter until July 26 pending a possible negotiated settlement of the matter.

The Mohawk Nation issued a press release which read, in part: "... The Mohawk Nation and the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy, of which the Mohawk Nation is a member state, have vigorously protested this intolerably violation of Mohawk sovereignty to the government of the United States. The arrest of Chief Thompson constitutes an armed invasion of the Mohawk territory in violation of treaties with the United States and the Law of Nations.

"Article 7 of the 1794 Canandaigua Treaty provides a procedure by which the United States may complain to the Six Nations Confederacy for injuries done to its citizens. The Six Nations have never consented to any other method for settling international disputes.

"Chief Loran Thompson is a sub-chief of the Mohawk Nation Council of Chiefs. In this position he is both a spiritual and political leader of the Mohawk People. He is a person very much respected by his people, and sits in a position that the Mohawk People will not allow to be denegrated in the courts of New York State. The conduct of Chief Thompson and Joseph Swamp is subject only to the jurisdiction of the judicial processes of the Mohawk Nation and People.

"The situation faced here is of an extremely grave nature. The sovereignty and national integrity of the Six Nations has been recognized and respected in treaties with the Netherlands, England, France and the United States. At no time during this long history have the Six Nations ever bowed to a colonial relationship with any foreign power. It is the arrogance, and at times blatant racism of the United States that has created policies and laws that have sought to impose a colonial condition in our lands.

"The laws of the Six Nations are thousands of years old, and our Way of Life is undoubtedly more ancient than many that exist today. All of our people are bound by their beliefs to defend and uphold these gifts from the Creation. The struggle faced here is not one merely between humans, but involves two widely separated Ways of Being. Chief Thompson has been chosen to carry the role of a Peacekeeper. In this position, he and the other Chiefs of the Confederacy are bound to a system that is devoted to social harmony and peace and to carry a responsibility to maintain the balance of all the Creation.

"This attempt to destroy the sovereignty of the Mohawk Nation calls into question our continuing ability to survive as a People, in the peaceful possession of our homeland. We have a responsibility to seven generations in the future to guarantee to them a homeland and a Way of Life. We can never submit to the imposition of alien laws and the colonization of our territories and people."

Prior to and following the July 7 arraignment date, numerous attempts were made by Mohawk Nation attorneys to arrange for a negotiated settlement of the dispute. During this period, New York State officials were totally unresponsive. The elected Trustees issued statements to the press to the effect that they were completely unwilling to talk to anybody about anything, preferring to rely on the strategy of the District Attorney to attempt criminal prosecutions in this most

MOHAWK NATION CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

Jake Swamp (Wolf Clan Chief) and wife Judy--one of the several dozen traditional Mohawk families presently encamped at Akwesasne. Like many traditionals they will not trade in their sovereign rights.

un–criminal case. Federal officials were also recalcitrant. Leo Krulitz of the Interior Department's Solicitor's Office issued a statement which was printed on July 16 in a local newspaper and which supported the Trustees. That statement read, in part:

"...While you (Longhouse people) take the position that the elected chiefs with whom we have been negotiating as representatives of the United States St. Regis Mohawk Tribe do not constitute the true government of the Akwesasne Mohawk Nation, it is quite frankly our view that they are the current authorized spokesmen for the Tribe of St. Regis Indians which participated in the Treaty with the Seven Nations of Canada held in New York City on May 31, 1796, and later approved by the U.S. Congress. 7 Stat. 55 (1797)."

He did not explain how that government could have become "authorized," or who authorized it, since the elected "Trustees" at Akwesasne have no constitution from the Mohawk People and it was never authorized by Congress. In fact, the only authorization for an elected system government at Akwesasne have come from archaic laws of New York State which has no power to create a government in the Indian country, and the other source of historical authorization, on the federal level, appears to be Leo Krulitz.

Efforts to meet with members of the White House staff and officials of the Interior Department had been initiated but had not been realized by the July 26 arraignment date. Chief Thompson and Joseph Swamp were again instructed by the Mohawk Nation not to appear in Franklin County Court for the arraignment.

The courtroom was packed that day. Judge Plumadore listened to arguments by Indian Law Resource Center attorneys R.T. Coulter and Howard Berman against D.A. Joseph Ryan's request for the issuance of warrants. Attorney Coulter explained in court that the two men had been directed "not to come here. This conflict need not be. There is no need of it. The Mohawks are people of principle, devotion, and sincerety. They have survived through a long period of oppression."

"The machinery of the judicial system seems to pit itself against these people," Coulter continued. "Their laws are important to them. The court is not compelled to ask for arrests today. We do not seek to flaunt the law."

Coulter explained that the laws of the Mohawk people forbid them from submitting to the jurisdiction of the court. He admitted, however, that in another case, an Onondaga Indian had submitted voluntarily to a court in a criminal case. (He was referring to *N.Y. v. Horace Cook*, and he asked for an extension of time so that those negotiations could bear fruit. Judge Plumadore denied the request
arraignment but he did agree to postpone signing the arrest warrants for one week (to August 2) pending out–of–court negotiations. He said that he would sign the warrants on August 2 unless one of three things happened: 1) the indictment was withdrawn; 2) another court rules he has no jurisdiction, or 3) the two men appear voluntarily for arraignment.

The Mohawk Nation Negotiating Committee travelled to Washington to meet with White House Council Patrick Apodaca and a high U.S. Interior Department official on July 30, 1979. During an hour–and–a–half meeting, the Committee explained the circumstances of Chief Thompson and Joseph Swamp's arrest, and of the government's role in the trespass on the Thompson property. On Wednesday, word reached the Mohawk Nation that the federal government was interested in reaching a negotiated settlement of this matter. A proposed agreement–in–principle was worked out between Interior Department officials and Mohawk Nation lawyers. The essence of that agreement was that Interior Department would work to withdraw the charges arising out of the confiscation of its equipment (the chainsaws and bush hog), they would replant trees destroyed by the YACC crew, and there would be issued an apology to the People of the Mohawk Nation. In return, the Mohawk Nation would see that the equipment was returned to the custody of Bill Seneca, a local BIA employee.

Mohawk Nation attorneys notified Judge Plumadore and D.A. Ryan of the proposed agreement. The judge was asked for a further delay in signing the arrest warrants to permit the settlement to continue to completion. The judge did not respond.

Meanwhile, it was reported in the local newspapers that about 40 Indians had been "deputized" by the elective system. Rudolph Hart, one of the Trustees, said that they would be armed "if necessary." Rumors were rampant on the Akwesasne Territory that the elective system's vigilantes were gathering guns and that they had even received a shipment of automatic weapons.

Both Judge Plumadore and D.A. Ryan took the public position that they knew nothing whatever about any negotiations taking place between the federal government and the Mohawk Nation. The *Malone Evening Telegram* reported on August 2 that Plumadore awaited word from the defendants and their lawyers that morning, but that "the judge said he had not heard from Coulter, the defense counsel." Technically, that was true. Both the D.A. and the judge had been communicating with Howard Berman, the co–counsel in the case. It was not true, however, that they did not know about the negotiations that were taking place. In fact, D.A. Ryan had said that he didn't care if the original indictments were withdrawn by the complainants. He would go ahead and press the resisting arrest charge in any case. D.A. Ryan's official position was that he had not been contacted by any government official about any agreement in the matter. The judge said that he and the D.A. had been very patient in this matter, and that he had "bent over backwards" in this case.

At 12:08 p.m. on August 2, 1979, Judge Jan Plumadore signed the arrest warrants at the request of D.A. Joseph Ryan.

The next day it was announced that although arrest warrants were signed, it was unclear who would serve them. New York State Police spokesmen indicated that they would serve the warrants when things "quiet down a bit." That same day, Ryan revealed that he intended to recall the June Franklin County Grand Jury in order to seek indictments arising out of an incident that occurred on May 29th at the elective system offices. A camp of Mohawk Nation People and supporters began to settle around Chief Thompson's residence adjacent to *Akwesasne Notes'* operations headquarters. Peoples from Rights for American Indians Now (RAIN), a non-Indian support group composed of supporters in the Northeast, began to arrive. The RAIN people stated that they were prepared to support any struggle at Akwesasne in any way they could.

On Monday, August 6, the Franklin County Grand Jury was reconvened to probe "any and all crimes" on the Akwesasne territory. It was immediately clarified that the grand jury was not probing the reported "deputizing" and possible arming of 40 people by the elected Trustees – it was probing seizure of the Council House on May 29 by traditional people. Captain Fred Teeple of the N.Y.S. Police, when asked about the

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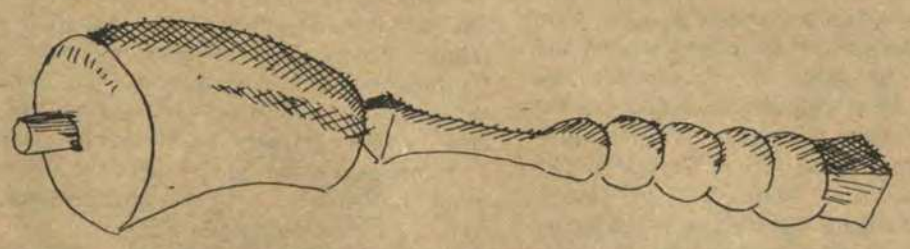

Governor Hugh L. Carey
Governor's Office
State Capitol Building
Albany N.Y.

August 16, 1979

Dear Governor Carey:

We are sending this leetter to bring to your immediate attention the seriousness of the situation that is beginning to unfold at the Akwesasne territory of the Mohawk People. We do not doubt that you are aware of the recent history that has unfolded since May 22, 1979.

At this time we wish to make our position absolutely clear to you, and those that work close to you.

The Central fire of the Mohawk Nation burns in the Akewsasne Longhouse. That fire, and the Chiefs who council by it, is the central source of the Spiritual and Political heritage of the Mohawk People. It is by this fire that the leaders and people of the Mohawk Nation carryout their responsibilities as the Eastern Doorkeepers of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois Confederacy). One of the many responsibilities charged to us is to ensure that no danger passes through this doorway and threatens the existence of our relatives living to the West.

On May 22, a great danger entered our doorway after long years of attempting to gain entrance. Kanasehrakeh, a political and spiritual leader of our people was literally torn fron our community during an armed invasion by police forces under your command. Because of that incident, it was our people's resolute position to rid our territories of the aggressors – namely the Franklin County Sheriff's Department.

We are not a people who seek to evade our responsibilities, but rather to effect them. The Mohawk Nation is governed under the authority of Gayonerakoa, the Great Law of Peace of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy. Our mandate is to defend those laws as a sovereign nation according to our ancient traditions and our conscience. We cannot submit to the laws of another nation and retain our integrity and independence as a people. The willingness of state officials to negotiate only the manner of arraignment of our people in your courts is an insult to the commitments of your forefathers and to our human and national rights.

We now stand at the brink of tragedy. The 1794 Treaty of Canandaigua between the United States and the Six Nations Confederacy contains a provision that was designed to eliminate the danger that blood might be shed between our peoples. It provides that "prudent measures" will be taken by the signatories in event of conflict to insure the continued peace and friendship of our peoples. The intransigence of your government in response to our numerous requests for amicable negotiations has created an imminent danger of confrontation and violence. Let us be clear that the Mohawk Nation has pursued every available avenue for peace. Let us be equally clear that we will defend our Chiefs and our territories against an armed incursion by the forces of New York State. Any such incursion will be treated as an act of war and will be responded to as such.

We are not strangers to threats of armed violence against our people. Many of our people stood with our relatives in the Onondaga Nation during the days before the Attica slaughter, and we know very clearly that we could have been the victims of this maniacal use of police power. There are those of our people who lived through the 71-day siege carried out by the combined force of federal and Indian police at Wounded Knee. There are many of us who have stood in support of, and worked for the freedom of our people at the Ganienkeh Territory.

In a few short months the eyes of the whole world will be focused on this region because of the Winter Olympics. Even though a police action may be executed now, the repercussions of that action will echo long after. Any violent use of force to establish New York dominance over our lands and people will only rise up as a stain on the honor of New York and the United States.

We have heard the good words you spoke on behalf of the peoples and troubles in Northern Ireland. We now ask you – do you have the same commitment to non–violent resolution here in our shared homeland? If you do, then we urge you to direct your aides and other responsible persons to work with us to find a mutually acceptable formula for restoring peace and tranquility.

The Council of Chiefs of the
Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne

serving of warrants, said, "We will serve the warrants when the time is right. In the meantime, we do not intend to telegraph our plans to the news media or the general public."

Mike Myers, a spokesman for the Mohawk Nation, accused D.A. Ryan of "insisting on committing further treaty violations" by pressing for indictments stemming from the May 29 incidents. He called Ryan's actions "a gross violation of the sovereignty of the Mohawk Nation," one which would be "treated in the same manner as the previous indictments."

Repeated efforts to arrange negotiations with officials of the New York State government met with failure. On August 10, one of the Mohawk Nation attorneys did meet with an official in Albany. The extent of New York's involvement, it was disclosed the following Tuesday, was that New York was willing to negotiate the terms of arraignments for people under indictment. The State of New York appears to be an indispensible party to the negotiations. The entire conflict arises out of New York State's laws which create a colonial government on the Indian country and which insist that New York's jurisdiction extends into the territories of the Mohawk Nation and the Six Nations. New York's officials indicated no desire to talk about those matters, however.

Fifteen sealed indictments were returned to N.Y. Supreme Court Justice Norman Harvey on August 13. There was no indication of the number of people named in those indictments, but reliable sources place the number at 21. Loran Thompson and Joseph Swamp were not named in these indictments, according to our information. The Mohawk Nation issued the following press release in response to the new indictments on August 15:

"The Franklin County Grand Jury has issued sealed indictments on conflicting reported numbers of either 15 or 21 additional Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy people on a variety of charges stemming from the incident of May 29, 1979 in which a confrontation occurred between the Mohawk people and the Franklin County Akwesasne Police at the Community Building.

"As with the incident of May 22, 1979 involving Chief Loran Thompson, this is a matter that can be and should be resolved through a process consistent with the treaties between the People of the Mohawk Nation and the United States and not in the courts of New York State.

"The incident at the Community Building was the culmination of years of frustration regarding the conduct of the Akwesasne Police toward the Longhouse people and our leaders. These 'police' are an illegal paramilitary force on our territory and an insult to the laws and traditions of the Mohawk Nation. After a long series of brutality incidents against the Mohawk people, combined with the violent arrest of Chief Loran Thompson, the Mohawk people determined to rid the territory of this paramilitary force.

"Too often have the laws and police agencies of New York State been used by the elective faction to harass and intimidate the People of the Longhouse. The illegal presence of the Akwesasne Police in the past few years has given the elective faction an additional element of armed force that they have used with impunity. The New York State law that the elective faction has relied on so heavily does not authorize or permit them to maintain a 'police' agency on our territory.

"At stake here is our people's right to remain free from outside interference, and any form of repressive measures that anyone may institute. Instead, the New York judicial system is being used to persecute patriots of the Mohawk Nation in full violation of international laws governing human rights. We continue to remain firm in our commitment that not one of our people will be arraigned. These indictments are political acts which which require political solutions. The Franklin County Grand Jury's decision to issue these indictments against people of the Iroquois Confederacy is once again an act contrary to the treaties between the people of the United States and the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy.

"Article I of the 1794 Canandaigua Treaty states 'Peace and friendship are hereby firmly established, and shall be perpetual, between the United States and the Six Nations.' Are the actions of District Attorney Ryan in his pursuit to have these additional indictments handed down in furtherance of 'perpetual peace and friendship?' Dialogue between the United States and the Mohawk Nation has taken place and a framework for settlement had been arrived at through which a full resolution to the problems could have been reached. However, District Attorney Ryan can't seem to fully comprehend what is really at stake or the long-term devastating effects his actions could bring.

"Joining with the traditional people of the Mohawk Nation are non-Indian U.S. citizens representing support groups from New York State and Vermont and European supporters. These U.S. citizens are here to support the Mohawk people and to petition officials in federal and state governments to uphold treaty obligations beteen the U.S. and the Six Nations.

"In a few months the eyes of the world will be on this region as the site of the 1980 Winter Olympics. The actions of local officials to procure and enforce these indictments against the political and spiritual leaders of the Mohawk Nation is a serious human rights violation that can only serve to embarass the State of New York and the United States. Any acts of violence directed against Native people in this region will be a stain on the honor of the United States.

"Our continuing purpose is to preserve the peace and goodwill established by our forefathers and which we are bound to honor. But, it is also our duty to protect our people and our way of life, and we must act to preserve our freedom. This latest action to force New York's law upon our Nation and our children is clearly a violation of solemn treaty rights guaranteed by the United States to all the Nations of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy."

The Mohawk Nation issued another press release on August 16:

"We wish to clarify to the people of Franklin County, New York State, and the United States, our position on the crisis presently facing our nation.

"We are sure that there is no one that doesn't agree that we were here long before the first Europeans. But what is obviously unclear is that we do not consider ourselves a part of the United States or Canada. Ever since our first contactwith Europeans we have worked to maintain our sovereignty and independence as a distinct people. Our history is filled with treaties that recognize this position, and are worded to enforce this reality.

"This reality has never changed, in our minds, but it has greatly changed in the minds of generations of Americans. All of the institutions of America have conspired to eradicate us from the face of the Earth. To this day, school systems deliberately teach lies about the history of our peoples and our lands. Laws and governmental policies have always sought to assimilate us, and our lands into the settler estate known as the United States.

"The stand we take today is not a new one, but one that we have maintained for hundred of years. We perceive ourselves to be members of the world community, and have turned to the world community to seek assistance. Our first approach to the world community was in 1923. In 1977, we addressed the world community in Geneva, Switzerland, and since that time we have not ceased in our efforts to gain international recognition of our struggle and rights.

"Our approach to the world community is based on the many international documents safeguarding human rights and fundamental freedoms. We would like to draw specific attention to the much publicized Helsinki Agreement between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

Article VII of this agreement states:

"Within this framework the participating states will recognize and support the freedom of the individual to profess and practice, alone or in community with others, religion and belief acting in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience ... They will constantly respect these rights and freedoms in their mutual relations and will endeavor jointly and separately, including in cooperation with the United Nations, to promote universal and effective respect for them. ...The participating States will act in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They will also fulfill their obligations as set forth in the international declarations and agreements in this field...."

Article VIII states:

"By virtue of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, all peoples always have the right, in full freedom, to determine, when and as they wish, their internal and external political status, without external interference, and to pursue as they wish their political, economic, social and cultural development."

"The language of the Helsinki Agreement is clear and strong, and the rights that we should be enjoying, as the Mohawk Nation, are clear. Every step taken by District Attorney Ryan, the grand jury, the tribal trustees, and New York State Police is in violation of this agreement. These violations are being reported to the Soviet Ambassadors in Washington, D.C. and the United Nations and to the Helsinki Monitoring Committee. These events will not go by without international attention, and our stand, here today, will be known throughout the world."

Later that day, a "reliable source" leaked word to the people at Akwesasne that a New York State Olympic Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) team was planning a morning assault on Friday against the people encamped on the Thompson property. The news was met with alarm. Only a few years ago New York State Police were amassed against Indian people at Onondaga during the Route 81 dispute when they suddenly withdrew. They then regrouped at Attica where they conducted an armed assault against unarmed prisoners in the largest civil-disturbance massacre in United States history. That the State Police are capable of such an action against Indian peoples no one doubts.

Washington and Albany were flooded with telegrams and telephone calls from people concerned about the possibility of another massacre. New York State officials took the position that no assault was planned but State Police officials were silent. On Thursday afternoon, several State Police cruisers pulled up to Ganienkeh (45 miles away and not involved in the situation at Akwesasne) in an obvious show of force, but they did not attack.

The people inside the encampment are convinced that only the outpouring of public support and concern averted an armed assault on August 17. As the hours passed, word began to filter back that a meeting between State and Federal officials was scheduled the following Monday, and that plans for an armed assault were postponed until after that meeting. Meanwhile, New York State officials were releasing statements to the press which alleged that New York was willing to conduct negotiations with the Mohawk People but that the Mohawk People were unwilling to negotiate. Those statements were entirely false. The Mohawk People made numerous attempts to arrange negotiations with State officials. All of those attempts were rejected by the State. State Department Attorney Robert Batson did meet once on August 10 with Mohawk Nation attorney Howard Berman, but it was a lawyer-to-lawyer meeting to discuss the legal issues in the case. The political issues were not discussed, and no negotiations were arranged. There was no follow-up to that meeting. The only offer by the State to meet with any of the Mohawk People concerned an offer by State officials to arrange a meeting with the State Police to discuss the

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terms of the proposed arraignments. The substantial issues of State versus Mohawk Nation jurisdiction were not discussed, and it was indicated to the Mohawk People that those were not negotiable issues.

As we go to press, the situation is extremely tense at Akwesasne. The elders, women and children inside the encampment have stated that they will not abandon the territory under the threat of an armed assault. The State's propaganda machinery has gone into gear to circulate the impression that the State is taking all steps necessary to ensure a peaceful resolution to a conflict involving some chain saw thieves and their supporters in the Hogansburg area.

The State has taken no steps whatever to begin negotiations to resolve the substantial issues at hand. The Mohawk Nation has issued a call for support to people throughout the world. Although the Mohawk People are in great need of food, blankets, and money to buy supplies, the need is even greater for political support in the form of letters, telegrams and telephone calls to government officials calling for a resolution of the issues which have brought New York's militia to the brink of another potential massacre. Messages of support are needed which express horror at the prospect of another military assault against Native People, and which urge that a fair and just resolution of this conflict include a recognition of the Six Nations Confederacy and the Mohawk Nation and their rights to the peaceful and undisturbed possession of their territories. Messages should also urge that the present indictments against the Mohawk People be dropped, and that the State and Federal governments withdraw entirely from interference in the lives and internal affairs of the Mohawk People and the People of the Six Nations. Messages, telegrams, and letters should be addressed to:

Gov. Hugh L. Carey
Attn. Ray Harding
Governor's Office
State CApitol Bldg.
Albany, New York
(518) 474-8390

President James Carter
The White House
Washington, D.C.
(202) 456-1414

Mr. Leo Krulitz
Office of the Solicitor
Department of the Interior
Washington, D.C.
(20) 343-1100

Mr. Theo Van Boven
Dir. U.N. Human Rights Commission
Palais des Nations
Geneva, Switzerland

Mr. Kurt Waldheim
Secretary General United Nations
United Nations Plaza
New York, New York

DONATIONS AND LETTERS OF SUPPORT TO:

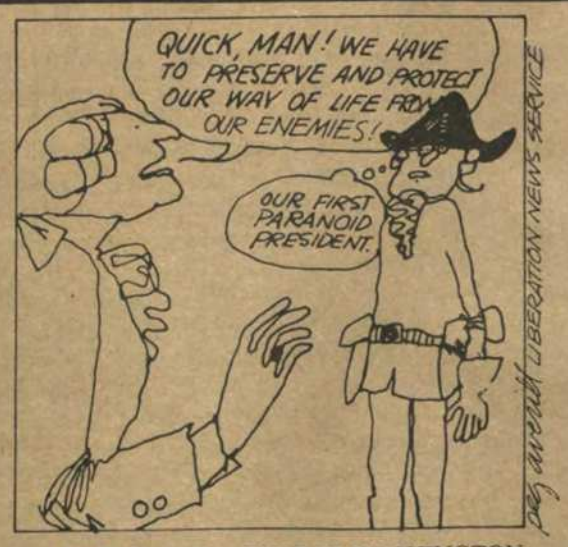
MOHAWK SOVEREIGNTY COMMITTEE
P.O. BOX 288
ROOSEVELTOWN, N.Y. 13683
(518) 358-9531

Calendars Ready

We have been having a good year for production – so good in fact – that we are getting ahead of ourselves. During the first part of September we will have *two* calendars ready.

This year we are offering you our regular full size calendar AND a smaller personal date book. Both are dedicated to the past ten years of the Native struggle, andAKWESASNE NOTES.

Full size calendar – $3.00. Personal date book – $2.50 – If you order both the cost is – $5.00. Please call or write regarding wholesale information.


QUICK, MAN! WE HAVE TO PRESERVE AND PROTECT OUR WAY OF LIFE FROM OUR ENEMIES!
OUR FIRST PARANOID PRESIDENT.
LIBERATION NEWS SERVICE

MAY 31, 1779: GEORGE WASHINGTON ORDERS THE GENOCIDE OF THE IROQUOIS PEOPLE--"NOT MERELY OVERRUN' BUT DESTROYED."

The Red Lake Uprising

"AT RED LAKE, THE FEDERAL POLICIES RESULTED IN WHAT CAN ONLY BE DESCRIBED AS A CIVIL WAR, ONE WHICH IS CONTINUING AS WE GO TO PRESS. BUT IT IS A CIVIL WAR WHICH HAS ITS ROOTS IN THE BIA OFFICES AND THE FEDERAL POLICIES WHICH SO CYNICALLY RESPOND TO PEOPLE WITH A STATEMENT WHICH ULTIMATELY TELLS THEM THAT THEY HAVE NO RIGHTS UNDER THE BIA, THE FEDERAL COURT SYSTEMS, OR THE POLITICAL PATRONAGE SYSTEM WHICH IS THE FEDERALLY RECOGNIZED TRIBAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM."

Accusations of abuses of power on the part of a tribal administration and unresponsiveness by the Bureau of Indian Affairs sparked the takeover of a BIA law enforcement center and rioting which left two young people dead, dozens of motor vehicles, boats and trailers destroyed, and much of the hamlet of Red Lake, Minnesota in ashes. The events which took place on May 19th have polarized the Red Lake Chippewa into warring factions each terrified of the other. Those events resulted in several long jail sentences, and a number of investigations into tribal affairs and the activities of the people involved directly and peripherally in the takeover. The action at Red Lake was the most sensational and widely publicized incident in Indian Country since the takeover at Wounded Knee in 1973, but it was one which did not involve the American Indian Movement or any other national or regional organization. It was simply a spontaneous reaction to the conditions created by federal policy, and it illustrates some of the problems which are created by that policy in the Indian country.

Red Lake is the name of a Chippewa community located 35 miles from Bemedji in northwestern Minnesota. It has a population of approximately 4,000. The village of Red Lake has a population of around 1500. The reservation is comprised of 663,000 acres.

Last year, Stephanie Hanson, a thin, 34-year-old former bookkeeper, ran for and won the office of treasurer for the Red Lake Minnesota Chippewa Tribe. Her campaign for office was direct and blunt. She charged corruption in the tribal hierarchy in the form of misused tribal funds, nepotism, and poor record keeping. The target of these accusations was long-time tribal chairman and local politico, Roger Jourdain. Ms. Hanson took office on November 9, 1978, after winning a runoff election. Almost immediately, she and accountant Fabian Cook began complaining that the tribal records were incomplete and confused. They also complained about the way in which the tribal administration spent tribal moneys.

The developing battle between Treasurer Hanson and Chairman Jourdain heated up in January and February when she dashed off memos questioning Jourdain's son's role as game warden when he also held a full-time job as a logger. She was also vocal in questioning about the legality of a proposed $312,000 "tribal chairman business account" to be controlled by Jourdain and administered by the BIA.

Relationships between Ms. Hanson and the tribal administrators loyal to Jourdain took a serious turn for the worse in February when she refused to pay the eight tribal councillors $402 each for attending monthly meetings. Her publicly stated reason for refusing to pay the $402 was that the money was, she said, a per deim, and the eight-man council had not met and therefore was not entitled to the money. Roger Jourdain called her actions "unauthorized" and ordered payments out of a separate health fund.

Then she began gathering evidence of favoritism, publicizing some $170,000 in five bonus payments over two years prior to November, 1978. The payments were made to Jourdain, council members and their employees. Hanson charged that at least three payments were ordered by Jourdain without authorization from the council. Jourdain's response to Ms. Hanson's activities was definitive. Although she was an elected official, the council, reportedly at Jourdain's urging, suspended her from office for sixty working days on February 28. The reason given for the suspension was that she had somehow violated the tribal constitution and "caused dissension, disruption and conflict" on the reservation.

Harry Hanson, 40, is Stephanie Hanson's husband. He is a former tribal council member, a fisherman and a logger by trade. In 1975, he resigned from the tribal council under pressure after he was arrested on rape charges. At that time, he negotiated a plea and spent three months in a workhouse. The Hansons allege that after they began speaking out publicly about irregularities in Jourdain's administration, he was put under a kind of house arrest by a tribal court. The court, they say, ordered him not to attend any meetings, political or otherwise.

Stephanie Hanson's February 28 suspension intensified the divisions on the reservation. Her supporters said that the tribal council had no power to simply remove an elected official from a constitutional office. A petition was circulated which demanded the recall of the constitution, the removal of the tribal judges, and removal of Celestine Maus, the local BIA superintendent. By mid-May, Hanson's supporters claimed to have collected more than 700 signatures on the petition, but they were uncertain where to take their petition.

Stephanie Hanson was initially suspended from her job by the tribal council for sixty working days, a period which ended on May 18, 1979. But on that day, the council met and voted to remove her permanently from office. It was that action of the council which triggered the takeover and subsequent violence which took place on Saturday morning, May 19.

The action began at about dawn and it completely caught the Red Lake BIA police off guard. Joe Dudly, one of the Red Lake policemen, told Associated Press reporters that two men entered the police headquarters/jail at 5:15 a.m. and took over the building. "All I saw was two men to begin with," Dudly said. "Pretty soon the whole place was full. They just kept coming in both doors." He and three other policemen, Dave Brown, head guard of the jail, recounted: "Suddenly some guys came in and got the drop on us. They held guns on us, threw us into the drunk tank, and at 7 a.m. put us in the padded cell. They were shooting up the place, turning over desks, setting fires, destroying papers and tearing everything into shambles. The guys were drunk and they got hold of the confiscated liquor and ammunition and that just added to the problem."

Dudly estimated that some 200 people were involved at the height of the occupation. He claimed that during the first hour, there was a considerable amount of shooting by demonstrators using guns and ammunition found in the buildings. Most of that shooting was apparently noisemaking, shots fired into the air. Other reports estimated that 130 people were present and visible during the early stages of the takeover, and at least one report estimated that 60 to 75 people took an active part in the affair at that point.

At around 11:00 a.m., police from Bemidji, Minn., and Beltrami County Sheriff's deputies tried to enter Red Lake. They were reportedly fired upon from a roadblock, and they also allegedly returned fire. No one was injured, and the FBI quickly ordered them to withdraw from the area. Sheriff's deputies were told to stay at least two miles from the jail. About an hour later, word came from the demonstrators that they would surrender their hostages (the policemen) on condition that Ms. Hanson be reinstated as treasurer, that BIA superintendent Maus be removed from office, and that an investigation of tribal affairs be conducted by the FBI and Minnesota (U.S.) senators.

Around noon, someone set fire to ten police cars. Some fifteen minutes later, Tom Crawford, editor of the Bemidji *Pioneer* went to the jail to negotiate the release of the hostages. He, Stephanie Hanson, Don Cooke (a store-owner on the reservation,) and Delwyn and Millie Holthausen were allowed into the jail. They found the hostages locked in their cells, but they could not find the key. At this point, there were fires in front and behind the building, but the building was not on fire. Crawford and his party had to pry the jail doors open to free the hostages. Handcuffs were placed on the hostages once they were outside. Crawford and his party then negotiated the release of the hostages into Mr. Cooke's custody, after which they drove away. Tom Crawford's account of the incident, which was carried by the local newspapers, described the occupiers as "an unruly group of 75 people shooting rifles, drinking beer, having a party and rummaging through government property."

No one tried to put the fires out, and in fact a fire truck was placed about 100 yards from the police station, blocking one of the approaches. By 12:30 the garage next to the jail/police station was on fire, apparently ignited by flames which spread from the police cars. By 2:00 p.m. the jail was on fire and people were in the streets, armed, and firing at street lights. A light rain fell as the jail (the BIA law enforcement center) burned and people mulled around in the streets. A reporter and a photographer who were approaching the scene on foot were confronted, they said, by a man carrying a hand gun. They alleged that the man forced them to smash $60,000 worth of equipment, made one of them lie down, and fired the weapon inches from his head. Then the man, according to the news crew, tried to run over them in their rented car, and sped off in the same car. The car was later found several miles away, gutted.

Three people were reportedly injured in front of the jail that afternoon. A youth, Vernon McGraw, was shot in the leg, apparently accidently. Arnold Wood, 24, was treated at Red Lake hospital for a gunshot wound to the nose, and a third unidentified man was treated for a gunshot wound in the leg. All these shootings were thought to have been accidental.

At about 4:00 p.m., a gas station and grocery store owned by Leonard Amundson, a non-Indian, were ransacked and burned to the ground. Amundson later claimed that $5,000 in cash was also taken before the store was burned. Amundson and his wife left before the alleged looting took place, and returned a few days later to find the store completely destroyed. He told the press that he and his wife were leaving Red Lake, and that they would not return.

By Saturday night, tribal chairman Jourdain and his wife were holed up in their $40,000 home. Three Hubard County deputies were sent in to rescue them while angry residents fired more than fifty rounds into

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the house, pinning Jourdain, his wife, and the police in the house. According to at least one account, the group managed to escape in a hail of bullets shortly before the house was set afire. The home, and a 1979 Cadillac belonging to Jourdain were completely destroyed by fire. A Chevy Blazer belonging to Jourdain was also smashed. Shortly after midnight, Stephanie and Harry Hanson negotiated a truce with FBI and Interior Department officials at a meeting on a dirt road several miles from the reservation. According to the terms of that truce, Mr. Celestine Maus was to be replaced as BIA Superintendent by Nathan "Joe" Head, a friend of the Hansons. The Interior Department agreed to conduct investigations into tribal matters. The Hansons agreed to help restore order on the reservation.

Altogether, about 45 vehicles, two stores, three government buildings, a laundromat, and three private homes were burned before morning. The headlines in the local papers read, "Fires, Shootings destroy much of Red Lake." The three government buildings included the jail, a warehouse, and a metal office building. The latter two were heavily damaged, and the jail completely destroyed, by fire. Forrest Gerard, Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs, put the damage over the weekend at $4.3 million.

The BIA brought in police from North Dakota and South Dakota. They and sheriff's deputies guarded the BIA buildings on Monday. During the early hours of the incident, the FBI and BIA police held back. One agent said, "It's a good thing we didn't go in. They were all drunken Indians. We'd have killed them all. Maybe one of us would have gotten grazed but we'd have killed them all."

Two young people died that day in apparently unrelated incidents. According to his father, 15-year-old Vernon Lussier rushed home and asked if he could hide the family's 12 guage shot gun in the woods because he feared that police might confiscate all the weapons on the reservation. He stuffed his pockets with shells and apparently also loaded the gun. Later, he told his father that he wanted to go duck hunting. He was killed as he ran along a creek near the site of the violence. His father believed that he tripped and the gun discharged, wounding him in the chest. He died at Red Lake hospital. As of this writing, no one knows how Alan Cloud, 14, was killed. He was standing in his own yard at the time of the shooting. It was speculated that he had been felled by a stray bullet, or that he might have been hit by police fire in an exchange between police and people occupying the area.

Harry Hanson rapidly emerged as the major spokesman for the protestors. He told the press that the takeover was in protest of Jourdain's dictatorial control of the reservation and was also part of an attempt to get the FBI to investigate Jourdain's administration. "The people want new tribal elections," he said, "but someone must keep Jourdain's people away from voters (if there is to be an election.) Otherwise it will not be a fair election." The Hansons asked Minnesota Senator Rudy Boschwitz to look into the case. Prior to the takeover, Boschwitz' staff had been "looking into" the situation for several weeks.

On Tuesday, the FBI swept quietly onto the reservation. More than two dozen specially-trained U.S. Marshalls set up headquarters within striking distance of the reserve, "as a precautionary measure." Harry Hanson said that he was "very pleased" that the FBI was beginning its investigation. "I will be the first to give myself up to the FBI, but I will not deal with the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) police," he said.

Hanson waived his right to have an attorney present and sat down with FBI agents to discuss his role in the takeover and subsequent demonstration. "I told them that if they wanted to blame somebody, then blame me. If somebody has to go to jail, then I guess I'll have to go to jail" he said. Stephanie Hanson thought that might have been a mistake. Hanson's own statement to reporters was optimistic: "We've got a war up here -- a political war. The government said Joe (Head) has full authority with full power, including the hiring and firing of police. There's no guarantee about the peace up here, but I'm not afraid. I'm innocent until proven guilty. We haven't got justice, but I'm willing to face my accusers. I learned that in jail. The one thing they did was send us

to the mission school where we learned our civil rights and I won't forget that."

"They gave us a resolution," he continued, "and we gave them a revolution. If he (Jourdain) is man enough to face the people, he's welcome back....Roger doesn't deserve to be my dog. He is worse than Idi Amin." Joe Head announced that Stephanie Hanson was to be reinstated to her position as tribal treasurer.

On May 25 (Friday), Harry Hanson and four other men met with FBI agents at Hanson's Red Lake residence. Following the one hour meeting, the five were arrested on charges of assaulting four BIA policement during the takeover. (Threatening a police officer with a gun is considered assault under the law. The policemen were not injured.) Hanson's bond was set at $25,000. Stephanie Hanson expressed surprise at the high bond. Bond for the other men, listed as Edward Cook, Roland Roy, Thomas Barret and William Stately, was set at $10,000 each. Four days later, Donald Edward Desjarlait, the sixth man sought by the police, surrendered to FBI agents in Duluth. Bail was set at $25,000. On the same day that Hanson and the others were arrested, the FBI subpoenaed all the tribe's financial records over the past 15 years -- some 20 boxes of material.

On Tuesday, June 5, the FBI arrested 20-year-old Wayne Roy on charges of assault with a deadly weapon in connection with the incident involving the two film crewmen who were trying to film the fire. Bail was set at $35,000.

There was a general feeling on the reservation shortly after the confrontation that no one would be prosecuted for events of the weekend. "Let them try and find the guy who lit the match," chortled a youth, "Ain't no way."

Celestine Maus, the BIA superintendent who was considered a close supporter of Jourdain, had been replaced by Nathan (Joe) Head. Head had been reprimanded by Maus for questioning the legality of the tribal council resolution that suspended Stephanie Hanson. Maus reprimanded Head for getting involved in tribal politics. That was in March. Later in the week, newspapers carried the report that Celestine Maus' removal was only temporary "because his life was in danger," and that Head was merely acting supervisor on a temporary basis. The same report also stated that according to the BIA, Jourdain remained on as tribal chairman. Hanson's meetings with the BIA and the FBI were less productive than Hanson had hoped. The BIA would not agree to the demand for a tribal election, and the FBI was cool to the proposal for an investigation of Jourdain or his administration.

Harry Hanson and the five other men were indicted in federal court on June 8 on 23 counts, including kidnapping, assault, and conspiracy. Specifically the charges stated that the six men had met at Harry Hanson's and planned the takeover. There were four counts of kidnapping in connection with the action of holding the police against their will in jail, and various assault charges. The kidnapping charges carried possible life sentences. Those indicted included Hanson, 40; Edward Dean Cook,21; William Stately, 18; Thomas P. Barrett,20; Roland G. Roy,23; and Donald E. DesJarlait, 24. Meanwhile, the investigators from the Interior Department joined FBI agents who were looking over tribal records for evidence of criminal wrongdoing by tribal chairman Jourdain or his followers. Interior investigators were espected to look specifically for abuses which would make the tribal officials liable under civil law.

Three weeks after the incidents which left much of Red Lake village in ashes, reports circulated that Jourdain, 66, was still hiding in terror, living in motels off the reservation and moving from town to town. Jourdain had three years remaining in his term as tribal chairman, and he was not expected to step down without a political fight.

Roger Jourdain, the man at the center of all the controversy, has been tribal chairman of the Red Lake Band of Chippewas for 21 years. He receives $35,000 per year salary for his post as chairman, but he also received at least $20,000 in bonuses over the past two years, according to Stephanie Hanson. Jourdain has issued statements that the bonuses were in lieu of salary increases. He is also listed as economic developer for the tribe.

In 1958, Roger Jourdain led a faction which peacefully deposed Peter Graves and the other hereditary chiefs. At the time, Jourdain and his supporters complained that Grave's control of tribal politics was so complete that he had been able to run the tribe for many years with little or no accounting to anyone, not even the accountants. Jourdain complained in 1958 that the Graves faction was a regime which was bolstered in power by a very cozy relationship with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In fact, the BIA supported Graves to the last, withdrawing support only after Hubert Humphrey insisted that the Interior Department investigate the situation. That was in 1958.

Jourdain has been tribal chairman ever since that coup. He is a master politician, and has cultivated close relationships over the years with such men as Hubert Humphrey and Walter Mondale. And he has run the Red Lake community with an iron fist. In Indian circles familiar with the situation, he is compared to party boss Richard Daley of Chicago.

As with Third World countries, U.S. federal dollars flow to those regimes in the Indian country which can demonstrate stability and which are cooperative. To all outward appearances, Roger Jourdain's regime has been a model of both. Million and millions of federal dollars have poured into Red Lake as a result of Jourdain's political influence and total control over reservation politics. That money has built homes, a saw mill, a fish processing plant, and a four-year-old jail. A new hospital is under construction.

Jourdain is accused, among other things, with nepotism. Some of the specific accusations, if true, suggest that under Jourdain's rule nepotism not only existed, but at times it became rather bizarre. A story is told on the reservation that a couple of years ago, a summertime cleanup crew was organized. Randy Jourdain was listed as the crew's supervisor, and Margaret Jourdain (Roger's wife) was listed as a member of the crew. Margaret was about 60 then, and Randy, the chairman's grandson, was 14. During the first week, all members of the crew received $2.30 per hour, but the second week, Jourdain's handwritten note said that Randy was to get $3.50 per hour as supervisor and his grandmother was to be paid $3.50 per hour for driving the truck.

Life on the Red Lake reserve under the Jourdain regime could be difficult indeed for those who were not willing to "tow the company line." Lee Cook is a member of the band. In 1974, Cook ran for tribal council and was elected, but he was blocked from taking his seat by Jourdain and the tribal council for almost a year. He brought suit in federal court, but the court refused to hear the case until he had sought remedy in the tribal court. Cook tried that, but the tribal court never got around to hearing the case. According to Cook, Jourdain has a big say in who is appointed to the tribal court, although the council actually makes the appointment. Finally, Cook and his supporters threatened to stage a takeover "We had guns and everything," Cook said. "We were serious." Jourdain gave in, and Cook was seated.

Cook, a long-time rival to Jourdain, described the chairman as a master politician, on the reservation and off. "Roger could pick up the phone, dial Washington and say, 'Hubert, how are you?' He had that kind of access. He made Humphrey and Mondale honorary members of the tribe." Jourdain is nationally known

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among Indian people for his power in the National Tribal Chairman's Organization, a federally-funded group which is controversial because of its alleged role as a mouthpiece for federal policy. Not long ago, Jourdain was allegedly embroiled in a controversy in that organization concerning the use of federal funds. One might say that Jourdain is as "Establishment" as a man in his position can be.

Reservation residents were vocal to reporters about life under Jourdain's regime. One 61-year-old grandmother told the press, "We want our rights returned. All he (Jourdain) cares about are his flunkies. We are fighting for peace for the reservation so our children and grandchildren will have something. We have to fight. He always tells the FBI and BIA how peaceful it is. He's lying. We know. We live here. He's lying."

Albert Lussier, the father of one of the two youths who died during the weekend was vocal about the need for change in the reservation's political life: "It has been like a police state and Jourdain has had his own private army. Anyone who spoke up against him was arrested or harrassed...As for the tribal court, it was a very poor system. Anyone who went there, whether guilty or not, got a jail sentence or a fine. There was no other way we could get attention to the problems that we had." Another man, Albert Stately, 31, told the press, "The guy acts like a dictator." An unidentified young man stated, "If you are related or are loyal to Jourdain, you get a job. If you aren't, you don't." And another man said, "At election time you can get a job. But once the election is over, they don't need you anymore."

The court system moved almost unbelievably swiftly against the men who were identified as the leaders of the Red Lake takeover. Less than a month after their initial arrest, the six men were brought to trial. No delays were permitted. The judge did not allow defense attorneys to question prospective jurors. He did not allow the defendants to present evidence concerning the events which led up to the takeover, and would not allow the jury to hear any argument to the effect that the takeover and the actions of the defendants might have some justification. They were tried before an all-white jury. The judge also refused to allow any of the defendants who were under 21 juvenile defendant status.

Five of the six men were convicted of all charges against them. Don Desjarlait, the sixth man who was charged with conspiracy, was acquited.

Federal Judge Edward Devitt fixed sentencing for the end of August. Then, on July 19, Harry Hanson was arrested for an incident involving a collision with a BIA car which reportedly caused $400 damage. Instead of being issued an appearance ticket for that charge, Hanson was held on $20,000 bond and the next day the judge set sentencing for all five defendants for the following Monday.

Harry Hanson appeared in court relaxed, wearing a red t-shirt which read "Freedom Fighter". Judge Devitt pronounced sentence from the bench in a tone described by on-lookers as barely-conceiled rage. Among other things, he called Hanson a "lunatic" and a "disgrace to your people." Hanson would pay, he said, not only for the takeover – which he had proudly admitted – but also for the burning of the town and for the deaths of two youths which even the FBI had ruled to be accidental deaths not directly related to the takeover. Although he would not allow evidence of the political nature of the takeover to be presented as part of the defence, his statement to Hanson at the time of sentencing carried a clear message of the political nature of the trial: "You have led a revolution of blatant lawlessness, a massive civil disorder... shocking to the mind and conscience. Under the American system of justice, even the most onerous government is no excuse for recourse to violence."

The court system of the U.S. as represented in St. Paul-Minneapolis has spoken. No matter the level of injustice, no matter the level of violence perpetrated by the state, "even the most onerous government is no excuse for recourse to violence."

Harry Hanson was sentenced to 26 years in federal prison, a sentence which was many times heavier than is usual in cases of this type. Edward Cook, 21, was sentenced to sixteen years. Tom Barrett, 20, Bill Stately, 19, and Roland Roy, 23, were sentenced to ten years in prison. It was an unusual sentencing procedure, also, because the pre-sentencing investigation which is intended to judge the defendants' ability to be "rehabilitated" had barely begun. Clearly pre-sentencing reports and "rehabilitation" were not considerations in the sentencing procedures.

The Red Lake five were sentenced on July 23. At the same time, the BIA was bringing up reinforcements in response to the increasingly tense situation on the Red Lake reservation. SWAT teams and county sheriffs which had been deputized as federal marshals were in Bemidji on stand by. Reservation superintendent Jim Stevens told the press: "It's not a political thing. It's a criminal defiance of law and order. A few people around here are used to getting away with things." A BIA police spokesman said, "People who have been responsible for terrorism will no longer be tolerated." Other police officers were more blunt off – the – record – next time, they will shoot to kill.

At least one resident of Red Lake thought it was a lot of big talk. "They've been trying to shoot to kill all along. It's a people's war. They just don't know who to shoot."

Then another incident occurred. BIA police stopped and surrounded a pick-up truck full of children which was driven by Don Desjarlait, the man who had been acquitted at trial. They reportedly were questioning Desjarlait and pointing their automatic weapons at him and the children when a number of Red Lake people surrounded the police and forced them to back off.

Later that night, dozens of people placed a burning car across the main road on the reservation near the BIA headquarters as a road block. That night, BIA police were pinned down in their headquarters for several hours by sniper fire. Soon the reservation was flooded with police.

Then a helicopter flying over the reservation was hit twice by rifle fire. The TV news later showed BIA SWAT teams in camouflage suits carrying banana clips and automatic weapons and ready for a search and destroy mission into Red Lake. Another flaming barricade, this time a log, was used to blockade the highway. The homes of some BIA police and several others linked to chairman Roger Jourdain were burned to the ground. The revolution at Red Lake had not ended with the arrest and jailing of Harry Hanson and four others. The BIA, the police agencies, and the court system were planning more indictments arising from the takeover on May 19, but Roger Jourdain and his supporters were in a state of seige by the people who they had dominated with the assistance of those agencies for two decades and more.

"They're trying to bend us to their ways," Don Desjarlait said about the federal authorities, "and we'll never bend to their ways. There's no point in begging those sons of bitches."

The situation of injustice at Red Lake points clearly to the federal government. When the Red Lake people were being abused by the tribal council which was funded by the federal government and armed by the federal government, they appealed to the BIA for some kind of justice. But the courts and the BIA responded that there was nothing they could do because it was an "internal matter." But when people took matters in their own hands – matters concerned entirely with their internal affairs – the BIA and the court system both responded in mock horror that violence and anarchy could not be tolerated. At Red Lake, that federal policy resulted in what can only be described as a civil war. It is an ugly civil war, one which is continuing as we go to press. But it is a civil war which has its roots in the BIA offices and the federal policies which so cynically respond to people with a statement which ultimately tells them that they have no rights under the BIA, the federal court systems, or the political patronage system which is the federally-recognized tribal government system. Until the political patronage and the motivation toward corruption is expunged from the Indian country, the injustice will continue, and with it the repression. The Red Lake story is continuing at Bad River (Wisconsin) where the BIA office has been occupied by a sit-in against the tribal chairman since May 19, and at Akwesasne. The only viable remedy to the situation is for the federal government to give true recognition to the sovereignty of Native Nations to which it has given only lip service since colonial times. Until that happens, the story at Red Lake is certain to be repeated over and over.

Much of the material for this article was taken from articles which appeared in the *Minneapolis Star*, *Minneapolis Tribune*, and *Revolutionary Worker*.)

RELATIONSHIP Continued from Page 29

It is the medicine men who teach you these things, and who tell the stories so that you really understand.

You can't just ask a medicine man to tell you a story. He won't really tell you. He will give you a little, and then stop. That's because the stories aren't their own stories. They belong to the Holy People. You must give something in return for the story - turquoise, or blue bread made from cedar ash. These things open the mind to the Holy People. When you tie the medicine man up with a contract, it is understood that you value what he has to offer. You are paying the Holy Person for knowledge.

You can't have a real relationship with someone unless you can talk to him. The medicine man teaches you how to talk to the Earth, how to talk to animals and plants, and how to listen to them.

You may need a tree for something - firewood, or a house. You offer four sacred stones. You pray, saying: "You have grown large and powerful. I have to cut you. I know you have knowledge in you from what happens around you. I am sorry, but I need your strength and power. I will give you these stones, but I must cut you down. These stones and my thoughts will be sure that another tree will take your place."

The trees and the brush will talk back to you, when you talk to them. They can tell you what's coming, or what came by, if you can read them. As you enjoy and respect Earth and Sky, you come to know the natural balance among all living things - "organic" and "inorganic."

To heed the signals from nature, you must get to know the signs. Animals have a lot to say. At certain times an animal can tell you what is coming. The owl has a message -a family based message - if he comes near. Stock, horses, medicine man, people, Nature is here just to hear you.

All the resources, all of the power of the Earth was put here to use. But it is important to take only what you need, and then to bless the place with corn pollen. Corn pollen is the most sacred of all things. It is the path of Life.

All things in Life relate to the Earth.

In the Beauty Way, songs on the second night say:

I'm only a child of Mother Earth. I'm only a child of the Universe. I'm only a child of Father Sky. I'm only a child of the mountains. I'm only a child of the air. I'm only a child of the fire. I'm only a child of the weather.

Heed me, feed me. I am a child second to Nature. I cannot go above it.

I am not preaching at you to believe this, but teaching for some understanding. There is a big gap between the Navajo people and those who control the world's resources. All I am doing is showing you how it is with us.

I am a child second to Nature. I cannot go above it.

This article first appeared in Rough Rock News, Arizona, May 15, 1979.

Peltier: A Warrior's Bid For Freedom

Leonard Peltier is one of the foremost political prisoners in North America, one that should be well–known to every justice–loving person here and around the world. He is also a strong, courageous and wily warrior, well–loved by his People. Recently we have heard that Peltier was able to outsmart the individuals who are paid to guard him and that he made a near–successful bid for freedom.

For five days, on foot and only lightly armed, he is known to have eluded some of the top-rated SWAT police teams in California. This in territory unfamiliar to him.

Two weeks prior to his bid for freedom, *Akwesasne Notes* was able to do a telephone interview with Leonard. Ismaelillo, one of our editors, conducted the interview and sent us the following report.

He sounded good to me, strong, his voice carried good words, full of certainty. We talked for nearly an hour and had intended to do a second session. It was my wish to do something of a profile – a biography of Peltier, an article that would go beyond his political standing as a prisoner of war – and make an attempt to portray something of the human element in his life. I was listening to the first tape at a friend's house when news came of the escape attempt, then that someone had been shot, then that Peltier was dead. Later we heard more complete information.

Three men were said to have run – a Chicano and two Indians. One of the Indians, a young man named Dallas Thundershield (Standing Rock Lakota) was shot and killed. Boby Gene Garcia, the Chicano, was immediately arrested outside the prison. The third man, Leonard Peltier, had apparently vanished.

We cheered. Then a momentary silence. Dallas Thundershield – thoughts returning to the dead young man. No one there knew him personally. Then word came that he was in his early twenties, that his mother had just died two days before, and that the young man had been killed in an attempt to be present at her funeral. One wonders why this young man was in prison. What made–up law had been broken? What were the circumstances of his life that had gotten him there? What manner of injustice had been thrown at him?

But Peltier was out. Peltier. I remember those few days. Everybody went about their work but somewhere in your mind you carried that bit of knowledge – Peltier was out. Peltier a symbol, Peltier a warrior, Peltier a man.

People prayed for Peltier; people dreamt about him.

One day, people were wondering about him. "I hope he is out of the country," someone said. "Nicaragua, Mexico or Cuba. I hope he's long gone."

One young man looked up. "Peltier has eagle spirit," he said. "Peltier is not walking anymore, Peltier is flying." People nodded, hoping, wishing, believing.

"The first thing I want to say" he had said in the interview, "I just want to tell the people – I just want to express to the people – that I appreciate, I really feel strong about them continuing to struggle and not just letting my life be wasted. You know, letting everything die down and being afraid to even get involved anymore in the struggle because of the railroad I went through and the large amount of time the government has stuck me with. Because if I was released tomorrow or today, I would still continue in the struggle. I would never abandon the struggle just for my freedom. I would continue as I did before, organizing the people in the communities and just educating the people about the government's attempt to conquer us. I think through them is the only way I'm going to stay strong. Through them, by continuing the struggle, fighting for sovereignty. We are a sovereign nation – we have never accepted being conquered, we've never accepted colonialism. This is why Indian people don't vote. This is why Indian people don't call themselves American citizens, because we've never accepted it and I don't think we ever will."

Word came another day: A news report that police authorities believed Peltier to be in the vicinity of Lompoc Prison in California, and that they were combing the whole area.

I was at the Federation of Survival Schools office. Someone else called. California AIM people had issued a call for young Indian people to drive their cars in the area and to help out by being visible, and to flood the area with Indians.

One wondered what the Feds must have thought of that. One wondered about Peltier. Where was he hiding? How was he doing?

In the Indian country during those few days there were several serious sovereignty challenges. Red Lake Reservation in Minnesota, Bad River in Wisconsin. Right here in Akwesasne, the people throwing out the colonial police. In the Black Hills of western South Dakota, close to ten thousand people - Indians and non–Indians were gathering to offer support for the fight there against uranium mining. In the Northwest the Hupas were battling it out over fishing rights with the federal marshalls. In the Southwest, the Navajos were preparing and organizing themselves against the biggest land displacement scheme in recent history. In Nicaragua, Indians and peasants were fighting hand–by–hand to throw the tyrant out.

And Peltier was out. A warrior, a prisoner of war, his case a frame-up if ever there had been one.

Steve Roubideaux of the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee: "If you were to read the transcripts of that court case, if you were to understand the climate of fear, of terror, which form the backdrop to his trial and conviction – then you would understand why there is no justice for Leonard Peltier."

Spring 1975. Peltier. A quiet community worker well–known for his consistent willingness to help the old people, one of several warriors asked by the Oglala elders to move to Pine Ridge at a time when the FBI harrassment of the traditional people was intensifying.

June 1975. FBI agents invade a traditional spiritual camp on the Pine Ridge territory ostensibly to serve an arrest warrant on a young man. Later, in court, they would admit that there had been no such warrant.

Only one thing is certain of that day in June 1975, and that is that the several dozen FBI agents who amassed themselves into the assault team must have believed their own "cointelpro–produced" propaganda on the nature of the American Indian Movement. They came in armed for combat and their attitude resulted in the quick and unjust death of an unarmed Indian man by the name of Joseph Stuntz - a quiet youth, in the camp at that time in apprenticeship to Lakota spiritual ways.

In an ensuing fire fight, some distance from the periphery of the spiritual camp, two FBI agents were shot and killed.

The FBI deaths touched off a massive campaign of terror and hysteria in the Northern Plains Indian country, particularly on Pine Ridge. Federal troops surrounded the area.

There is a story which is told in Pine Ridge of several warriors trying to break through the federal lines that day. One had his Pipe. They stopped and prayed. Then they spotted two eagles, which they followed. The eagles led them undetected through a valley, right between two federal outposts.

On the same day of the federal assault, at the BIA tribal offices former chairman Dick Wilson was signing away one-eighth of Pine Ridge Reservation – land which has since come to be known as rich in uranium and which is described as "a good site" for nuclear waste disposal.

Peltier: "In the last year, well, I guess during my whole incarceration, I thought a lot about it – about the movement, about the peoples' struggle for sovereignty. And right now, my own personal feelings – like I see what's happening. The government is really pushing extermination. They are coming in, they're ripping off the resources. Like South Dakota. I'm afraid right now I'm going to live to see the day of the death of my people in this way. If the stripmining goes into South Dakota – and we know that's going to happen – it's

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gonna be the new Pittsburgh of the United States. We're going to have maybe a quarter of a million non-Indian people coming into that area. In ten years there isn't going to be a reservation, because we are going to have some of our people drinking it up. State jurisdiction is going to come in, and once the land is gone, that's it for our struggle.

"We saw it happen in Oklahoma. The people are living there, but they don't have land, land for a completely conquered people, the land for identity, for survival.

"We've got a powerful enemy – those multi-corporations that want to go in there and get those resources. They run the government, they dictate to the people what is going on. We see that just by this phony gas shortage. And they want those minerals and they're going to go in and they don't give a damn what happens to the Indian people. We are fighting a very very powerful beast who don't even care about their own people. You know, those White people living in South Dakota, the multinationals could care less what happens to them. They could care less what happens to their land. They want one thing, and that's the resources. They're going to get that, and they ain't going to let anything stop them. That's the way I view everything. That's the way I'm looking at everything. I see it pretty shaky for us right now. We're in a hell of a time in our struggle. The right-wings are moving fast."

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It was night. Dallas Thundershield ran into a clump of trees near the prison. His heart was pounding. A dozen patrol cars were chasing him. He could see the flashing red lights. He could see the men with long rifles and shotguns, and men with M–16s in their hands. He could see men with laser-sighted sub-machine guns.

"Come out of there right now. Throw your gun in front of you."

Dallas moved from one bush to another. He must have wondered where his two other brothers had ended up: he must have thought of his family. He must have taken a moment to pray.

Some distance away, Leonard Peltier hid in the bushes. He could see the flashing lights completely surrounding the clump of trees.

"Make up your mind," they yelled. "Come on out."

Dallas stood, his hair loose, his eyes shifting from one car to another, from one set of guns to another. Peltier could see his silhouette against the light. He saw Dallas put his hands behind his head and step out.

A shot rang out. Dallas dropped.

Dallas Thundershield lay face down, shot in the back, pierced through the heart. The police moved in.

Nearby, a man named Roque Duenas was arrested. He was immediately charged with aiding and abetting an escapee of a federal prison.

Several hundred yards away, Boby Gene Garcia was cornered. He too was arrested, apparently without incident.

When he saw Dallas fall, Peltier took off. "They outright murdered Dallas," he thought. It was dark and he saw some trees and he headed for them.

He hid. Then he travelled some. The whole federal and state repressive operatus was mobilizing to hunt him down, but he was free and he was walking and he was not afraid. He could see the stars and he decided to head north, thinking about Dallas, about the killing, wondering about the other brother, anxious, angry. And yet, as we walked, a certain happiness returning too – no walls, no cells – he walked.

Peltier: "First of all I would like to tell... say on that... this is my first time in prison. It is an experience... how one human being will treat another human being. You find your officers – your guards right? – they get so obsessed with power they look at you and they talk to you like you're (this isn't about all of them, now, just maybe half of them) they treat you with total disrespect. They...you just hear them making real racist remarks, like you can hear them saying 'Oh, these f——— inmates,' and 'these motherf——— prisoners, they should all be executed... they should all be put to death.' That type of attitude. You know, a man sitting here with two life sentences, not saying myself necessarily, but anybody who has no hope of possibly ever getting out of prison – he doesn't want to hear that. You know, it's a mental thing. It becomes a mental thing to him. It starts him thinking that he's an animal. And this is just the strategy of the government's Bureau of Prisons – to dehumanize people."

June, 1975---Oglala shoot--out. Joe Stuntz, killed by the F.B.I. assault team. To this date there has yet to be an investigation into the circumstances of his death, much less any kind of charges or indictments.

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Morning came. He rested. Occasionally he would look out. He took the time to clean his weapon. He could feel the sun coming up and he could smell the morning mist coming off the bush. He felt thankful. He prayed.

On the radio and television of the area the news was out of a cold-blooded killer – armed and dangerous – on the loose. Photographs of Peltier's face for the citizens to memorize. People locking doors. Men checking their hunting rifles. Fear, much fear.

An Indian on the loose. A murderer.

"Cooperate with your local police, cooperate with the FBI. If you see this face, contact us immediately."

And now it is night again and Peltier walks. It is a black night. For that he is thankful. Maybe he thinks of Joe Stuntz. Maybe he thinks of Dallas Thundershield. Maybe he thinks of Pedro Bissonette, of Buddy Lamont, of Frank Clearwater – or of the many other nameless faces cut down by federal bullets. Maybe he thinks of Anna Mae Aquash.

Peltier walks. He is thinking and he is walking and he carries a weapon again and he is on his own but he is not alone. Every moment is full right now. He listens and he smells, and he watches out.

He thinks maybe of the federal agents responsible for his imprisonment. Price. David Price. And another one, William Wood. Peltier smiles. He remembers how an old Lakota woman put it one time during the trial: "I feel sorry for those men," she had said. "They have lied so much they can no longer tell the truth from the lies."

Peltier walked all night. Occasionally the lights from a passing car dropped him to the ground. He tries to be noiseless. He is heading north.

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The next morning on Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, Myrtle Poor Bear, an Oglala Indian woman, receives a visit by FBI agents. Myrtle Poor Bear is a young woman. She has a long history of watching FBI cars pulling up to her home.

"We've come to tell you," one of the agents says, "that Peltier is out of prison. You had better be careful; he might want to kill you."

They drive away in their long dark car. Myrtle watches them. She is afraid. She walks nervously around the house. Just watching FBI agents come to her house again makes her jumpy. Her mind races. She begins to cry.

Myrtle Poor Bear is a young woman who has been made to live with a great deal of guilt and confusion in the last few years. When Leonard Peltier was in prison in Canada, she was a witness through affidavits at the extradiction proceedings. She was also the main witness in the conviction and life imprisonment of another AIM organizer, Richard Marshall.

What makes Myrtle guilty and nervous and confused about the whole thing is that for several months in 1975

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and 1976, FBI agents transported her from motel room to motel room, drugged her, and produced affidavits for her to sign which were carefully constructed lies.

Myrtle is a poor sickly woman. In court, during some recent hearings in the Dick Marshall case, her father took the stand. "Since she was a little girl," he said, "Myrtle lived in her own fantasy world. She always made up stories. She is a good girl, generous...But ever since her fever, the one that almost killed her, her mind is like that."

Two FBI agents, David Price and William Wood, had her sign affidavits to the effect that she was Leonard Peltier's girlfriend and had seen him shoot the two agents.

In fact, she had never met Peltier. She couldn't even identify him in the courtroom.

Later, Myrtle recanted her testimony in both the Peltier and Marshall cases. She told the story of the FBI agents, of how they flashed pictures of the murdered AIM activist Anna Mae Aquash in front of her, of how the two agents alternated being kind and gentle one day, and threatened to kill her children the next.

Before she had recanted, however, the FBI had personally flown the affidavits, illegally, to Canada where Peltier was fighting extradiction. On the basis of the false affidavits, the Canadian Courts turned Peltier over to U.S. authorities.

In the words of Steve Robideaux: "The FBI needed someone to pay for the killing of two of its agents. They needed a scapegoat. Peltier is that man."

There is a story from those day, in Canada, of a ceremony held for Peltier. It was outside and the sun was out and just as they were breaking up, a young man looked up. In a clear blue sky, flying in a circle, were seven eagles. The young man announced it to the group.

By late morning after the visit of the FBI agents Myrtle Poor Bear was on the phone to Bruce Ellison, a Rapid City attorney who had worked on Peltier's defense. She told him of the visit of the two FBIs. Is it true, she had asked him.

"As far as we know," Ellison said. "He is out. But Myrtle, the last thing in his mind right now would be any thought of hurting you."

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Peltier's mind was clear. It was morning again and he rested. He was lucky to have a good mind. Maybe he did think of Myrtle. "She is a poor, sick woman," he had said on another occasion. "I have no bad thoughts for her. She was a pawn to them and they used her like they have used so many Indian people before."

Now he stood, and he travelled a ways. For the first time, he felt himself hungry. Not that he was weakened, it was just a momentary emptiness – and anyway he was no stranger to hunger. His mind was clear. If anything, he felt sorry for Myrtle – for the way she had been confused, for the lies she had been fed, for the drugs that had been forced on her. Peltier knew about drugs. He knew about the mind-control methods that the federal people were able to manipulate. He also knew about the clarity of mind that comes from knowing and speaking the truth.

His recent move to Lompoc in California from Marion Prison in Illinois had been a sort of welcome change in that regard.

The federal correctional people call mind-control by the name of Behavior Modification, a sedate, scientific way of describing what is in fact psychological fascism.

Peltier: "The Behavior Modification Control Unit they have over there in Marion is a mini–prison within a prison. In there, you're locked up 23½ hours a day. They used to have what they called 'boxcars'. That's a cell within a cell. They have two doors to a cell there. Everything. It's soundproof. It's like being in a padded cell, I guess."

"They watch you all the time?" I asked.

"Oh yes, you are constantly being observed. And, of course, the beatings are pretty regular. All the time I was there at Marion, I think there were five people who committed suicide down there, couldn't stand the pressure, couldn't stand the bull–––– that's constantly going on 24 hours a day down there.

"They're using what they call prolexin – I can't pronounce it too good. Prolexin is probably the most dangerous drug they use on people right now. When you get one shot of that –– they just shoot it into you –– it lasts approximately 14 days and you go around with your head cocked to one side and your shoulders are way up and your drugged, all you want to do is lay down and sleep. And, like if they inject you too many times, eventually it performs like a lobotomy and you just become a vegetable."

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Now it was getting dark again and Peltier was moving fast. He figured he must have covered already 15 or 20 miles. He had focused himself on freedom, on making it. He was moving fast. Another dark night, a good night for an escaped political prisoner. Yet in the back of his mind he couldn't help thinking that the feds would undoubtedly kill him this time. He ran at a half trot. Somewhere towards morning he began to itch and he laughed to himself. In the early light, he could see the little bumps – he must have lain on poison ivy the previous day.

Now he stopped and looked around. He took a few quick breaths and relaxed, trying to take stock of his physical strength. He felt good. He didn't feel the hunger anymore. But he knew he must eat soon to continue the pace. He had been running along the edge of some trees. Now he crossed a road into open farmland. Up ahead he spotted an apple orchard, and then, to the side, almost overgrown so they were hard to see, a watermelon patch.

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It was evening in Minneapolis and the Women of All Red Nations (WARN) were sponsoring a feast. They had brought together the Indian community to strategize around some pressing issues. Tonight the focus was on sterilization abuse and on the health effects of low-level radiation. The women had prepared large pots of venison stew. It was the traditional way – to feed the people, and then make your talk.

A young man entered the room. He stopped by a small group, made a short talk, and then walked on. The small group, three men and two women, dispersed themselves. Word had come in. Leonard Peltier had been found.

You could see the young men moving restlessly. Some left to make phone calls, others to catch the evening news somewhere.

"Is he all right?" people kept asking. "Is he alive?"

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Leonard Peltier was crawling. He wanted to get to the watermelon patch, and it was in open field. On his forearms and shoulders, even on his face, he could feel the salty irritation of small cuts and bruises. The sun was overhead and hot.

He had a few more yards to go. He could see a melon, partially hidden by leaves. Then he was on it, clearing the green away.

It wasn't watermelon. It was green pumpkin.

"Shit," he said.

Then he heard the shot.

He turned around on his stomach and looked through his sight. There was a figure in overalls – a farmer next to an old pickup truck. The man was yelling something and coming toward him, firing.

Peltier backed off, his sights on the farmer. He went down a slope and out of sight. He heard a truck starting.

Then he was in the trees, listening. He could hear the truck motor whirring and then stop. The farmer was coming around in a circle. Peltier could hear him walk. Then he waited. He watched the man walk past him.

"Drop the gun," Peltier said. The farmer complied. "Turn around!" The two men eyed each other. Peltier picked up the gun – a .22 caliber rifle. "Give me the truck keys," he said, "and your shoes."

The farmer complied. He must have been scared; he must have sweated. All those reports about a cold-blooded killer on the loose must have run through his mind.

Peltier took the shoes and keys and walked backwards, his gun trained on the man. He could have shot him. He could have bought his freedom by killing that farmer. Instead he turned and went to the truck. The farmer ran in the other direction. Peltier watched him. Then he started the truck and drove a way. It was an old farm truck, not much good for the open road.

The farmer ran. Within minutes he was on the phone to the local sheriff. Ten cars came, sheriff's deputies, federal agents. They carried machine guns, M–16s, shotguns. They drove off to follow the tracks.

The truck tracks led them through an open field, following the fencing and into an apple orchard. There they found the truck. They spotted some footprints that led to the grove of trees.

Peltier had seen them coming through the open country, but now in the trees he had lost sight of them. He was in a bad spot, and he knew it. All around this particular apple orchard it was flat – farm country. He climbed a tree. Thirty yards away he could see one of the patrols – six men armed with sub–machine guns. He held his breath and froze. They were coming his way.

They walked past him, right under him. He watched them walk away, and then began to check around. He repositioned his foot to come down, waiting for their circle to reach the furthest point before jumping. Then he bore down on it, and the branch cracked.

It made a loud noise. The men looked his way, guns levelled. Peltier threw his gun and dropped flat to the ground, hands behind his head. The men ran his way.

"Don't move," he heard a voice. Then he felt the man's handcuffs. It was a deputy sheriff, smiling. "Here," he said. "I'll help you up."

The second man to reach him was an FBI agent. Peltier was already standing. The agent stuck his sub–machine gun in Leonard's face.

"I'm going to kill this punk," he yelled, his gun levelled, looking over at the deputy sheriff. The deputy sheriff looked distressed.

"I handcuffed him," he said. "And I'm not part of any killing that way."

The FBI agent swore again. "You lucky son-of-a-b––––," he told Peltier. Then he walked away.

Marion Prison – The Hole – Press Release.

"As a member and leader of the Lakota Nation and a prisoner of war, it is my duty, as it is with any captured warrior, to liberate myself from the POW camps of the United States. As long as there is life and breath in me, I will continue to attempt to liberate myself. I will continue to struggle for the sovereignty of my people throughout the hemisphere. You must remember that freedom is not easy, that it requires great sacrifices, as Dallas Thundershield showed. We send our prayers to our fallen brother and warrior, murdered by the federal prison guards as he was surrendering July 20, 1979.

"It is important for us to face the struggle ahead. The people of Nicaragua and Iran have shown us the route that must be taken for the survival of our future generations. I am urging all brothers and sisters of the Indigenous Nations to start preparing themselves for the fight which has only begun to regain our sovereignty. We must lean from our friends the Cuban people in their successful liberation. They are our teachers. We must embrace them and accept what they can offer.

"To the people who are struggling for our freedom, I embrace you and send you all my love and strength from one of America's most dreaded concentration camps. They can only hold my body. They will never hold my spirit.

"In the spirit of Crazy Horse, Dallas Thundershield, and Joe Stuntz,

Gwarth–ee–laas
Leonard Peltier, POW
Federal Pen, Marion Illinois
July 29, 1979.

The Creation Of The Hopi Tribal Council

The Sovereign Hopi Villages of the Early 1930s

The severe economic depression which began in the United States in 1929and continued on into the 1930s had no similar disastrous impact in Hopi country, for the Hopis had not become dependent upon the economic system of the United States. They remained largely self-sufficient communities, an agricultural and pastoral society under the leadership of village governments, each village continuing to exist as an independent sovereignty. Being a profoundly religious people, each Hopi village government was headed by its principal spiritual leader, the Kikmongwi. The Kikmongwis and other religious leaders chosen by the various clans governed the religious and secular life of the village as their ancestors had for centuries before. Under the Hopi system, property rights were determined village by village, according to clan membership as determined by a system of matrilineal descent. As discussed above, property rights continued to be communal rights, the system of Hopi land holding not having been broken down by the United States government under the Allotment Act.

The United States government was fully aware of the continuing strength of traditional Hopi government at that time. Reports produced by the U.S. government concluded that the traditional Hopi system of government remained vital in the 1930s:

Roughly speaking, the governmental system is that of the Pueblos prior to the coming of the Spaniards, slightly broken down by American governmental interference.

and

The Indian Service to date has never faced the simple fact that the Hopis are completely dominated by their religion, which enters into all phases of their life. Since, at least, the time of Leo Crane, the attempt has been to ignore the religion and the chiefs, with melancholy results, and the chiefs and the religion still govern 80% of the people.

An anthropologist employed by the BIA to prepare a study for Commissioner Collier confirmed these reports. In a 1934 letter to Collier he made an additional observation about the competency of traditional Hopi government:

In my judgment the Hopi are entirely competent to deal with these problems provided they are given adequate protection on the reservation.

There are numerous reports of anthropologists and ethnologists who have studied and marvelled at the complexity and beauty of the traditional Hopi culture and religion. Even many agents of the BIA, despite all of the rather unsuccessful efforts to undermine the Hopi culture and government, came to admit that the Hopis had developed over the centuries a remarkable society which was independent, self-reliant, stable, productive, and peaceable.

As the decade of the 1930s began, the continued strength of the traditional Hopi culture and government was most remarkable. The Hopis had, against all odds, overcome fifty years of United States intervention and aggression and over 250 years of prior Spanish and Mexican rule. In the mid-1930s they were to face yet another test of endurance as the United States presented a new, far-reaching and sophisticated challenge to Hopi sovereignty. That challenge came with the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, which began in 1933 and which offered a New Deal for the Indians of America.

The Indian Reorganization Act (Wheeler-Howard Act) of 1934

With Roosevelt's administration came the enactment of the Indian Reorganization Act (also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act) and the appointment of John Collier as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. A new era in United States Indian policy was hailed. The Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) was the hallmark of that policy. It was said to promise a complete reversal of the prior half-century of U.S. Indian policy which had been so disastrous in Indian country. Instead of dismembering Indian governments and allotting Indian lands, the IRA approved Indian self-government and encouraged the organization of Indian governments where none existed.

Since Indian self-government under the IRA was to be implemented with the supervision and approval of the BIA and the Secretary of the Interior, the IRA was not, in fact, offering an end to BIA interference and a return to true Indian sovereignty. The ultimate goal of the IRA, as it turned out, was to maintain United States governmental control over Indian communities in ways which would be viewed as less brazen, authoritarian, and disruptive. John Collier described the IRA's objectives in these terms:

This affirmation of cultural diversity and cultural autonomy (under the IRA) did not imply a doctrine or practice of laissez-faire either within the Indian group or in government or the surrounding Commonwealth. It implied rather, the attractive and permissive way in place of the authoritarian way of swaying the human process. It implied leadership–within and without the Indian group–of the democratic and integrative type, not the regimenting, commanding and "bossing" type.

In short, the new policy offered a less abrasive means of achieving assimilation.

This new policy under the IRA offered hope to some of the most beleaguered Indian peoples, especially those who had suffered the greatest loss of land and sovereignty under previous government programs and policies. In addition, many so-called "progressive" or "Americanized" Indians saw the IRA as an avenue toward the mainstream of a prosperous American life. The IRA promised massive economic aid (most of which was never delivered) which was held out before all Indians as a carrot to encourage their approval of the IRA concept.

The promise of economic aid and new respect for Indian self–government was not as encouraging to many other Indian communities. The more traditional and stable Indian communities feared that the IRA would result in further erosion of their treaty rights and their inherent sovereign rights under the guise of self-determination. They objected strongly that American styled, majority rule, constitutional electoral governments, were a necessary part of the IRA package. If Indian self–government was the true objective of the IRA, what was wrong with simply maintaining and strengthening the traditional Indian governments, the traditional leaders asked. Many preferred to continue their struggle for survival under the prior system of U.S.–Indian relations rather than submit to new governmental structures and procedures which would be created and approved by the United States government and which would, under the model IRA constitutions, be under the ultimate control of the BIA and the Secretary of the Interior.

Traditional Hopi leaders were among the many Indians who had learned to view any new U.S. government Indian policy with great skepticism. They were in no hurry to embrace the IRA and its promises.

With a missionary zeal, Commissioner John Collier and his Indian administration sought to convince every Indian tribe and nation of the benefits of organization under the IRA and an approved IRA constitutional form of government. Campaigns were conducted to obtain a pro-IRA vote in every Indian reservation. These campaigns were necessary because Congress had provided that an election would first be held before the IRA would go into effect in any Indian community.

The crucial election on the proposed Hopi Constitution and the establishment of the Hopi Tribal Council was held on October 24, 1936. The official tally was 651 in favor of the Constitution and the Hopi Tribal Council, with 104 opposed. On the strength of these election returns, the United States government decided in December 1936 to recognize the Hopi Tribal Council which was to be organized under the constitution as the official and exclusive governing body of the Hopis. In all future dealings the United States would recognize the

HOPI CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

HOPI TRADITIONALS

newly-created Hopi Tribal Council as the only official representative of all the Hopi people.

The legality and fairness of that 1936 election has been a matter of great controversy in Hopi country ever since that time. Because the Hopi Tribal Council has been responsible for pursuing the Docket 196 claim, any question about the legitimacy of that governing body deserves serious attention.

The Early Campaign for Hopi Approval

The campaign for Hopi acceptance of an IRA government began in earnest in early 1934. It is interesting to note that the BIA field office at first assumed that each Hopi village would be individually organized in keeping with its historic individual sovereignty. A letter from the Hopi agency Superintendent to the Commissioner in February 1934 includes this comment:

After the village communities have had more time for consideration of the proposed program, I feel sure they will be very willing and eager to submit for your consideration their constitutions.

The Commissioner received immediate feedback from traditional leaders who wanted their opinions on Hopi self-government known In March 1934 the Kikmongwi of Shungopovy wrote that there was no need for a new form of government:

In reply to your letters of January 20, 1934, regarding the matters as in forming or organizing a Self-Government, which we already have that has been handed down from generation to generation up [to] this time.

He concluded by asking the Commissioner "to return our Domain back to uns Hopis" and he spelled out an aboriginal land claim.

At the same time, outside organizations concerned about Indian affairs also expressed concerns about the proposed IRA governments. The New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs made these comments to the Commissioner in May of 1934:

Legally recognized self-governing municipalities are a late step in the evolution of most peoples, resulting from their tradition, education, experience, and racial characteristics. This [IRA] bill makes the legal form the first step. Thereafter the fact and substance of self-government are to be pressed into that form regardless of what the future development may be and regardless also of the extreme differences in tradition and racial qualities among the various Indian tribes. To us this seems to start from the wrong end.

Despite these forewarnings, the campaign of John Collier continued.

In April 1936 Collier made a personal visit to Oraibi as he stepped up his efforts to sell the IRA plan to the Hopis. The minutes of that meeting show that Collier offered the IRA organization as a solution to virtually all Hopi problems. First he talked about the money promised to IRA organized Indian governments:

The tribes who do organize and get their charter are the ones who get the money, not the ones who fail to organize.

He urged immediate acceptance of the IRA plan because of possibly shifting political tides in Washington:

[Y]ou don't know what the next President and the next Commissioner might do; therefore, it is the best thing to organize now when you can organize, rather than to wait, because then you might find that you cannot organize.

He told the assembled Hopis that Hopi-Navajo land disputes could not be settled unless the Hopis agreed to organize under the IRA:

I do not mean to say; and I am not saying, that the Hopis and Navajos are rivals at all, but I am saying that there are some things which need to be settled by the two tribes and they cannot be settled until both tribes are organized. In the meantime the Hopis are going to get the bad end of the deal if they stay unorganized.

At this meeting Collier for the first time laid out his idea of organizing the Hopi villages into a federation under a single tribal council. He told them that he would send a sensitive and experienced man to help establish a suitable Hopi constitution.

Oliver LaFarge: The White Man's Burden to Organize the Hopi Tribal Council

Collier's Choice

The man Commissioner John Collier chose to campaign for Hopi approval of the IRA constitution was Oliver LaFarge. Oliver LaFarge was an ideal choice from Collier' s point of view. LaFarge had much prestige in the world of Indian affairs. He had worked and studied among the Navajos and his novel LAUGHING BOY had won a Pulitzer Priz and brought fresh public attention to Indian problems. LaFarge was also known among the Pueblos where he had travelled and studied over the years. His image as friend of the Indians and as a familiar figure in the Southwest helped ease his entry into the Indian community. In September 1933 he had visited in the Hopi village of Oraibi to sound out the village leaders on the possibility of establishing a Hopi Tribal Council.

LaFarge was employed by the BIA to campaign for passage of an IRA constitution and the creation of a Hopi Tribal Council. He worked in Hopi country from June 1 to September 11, 1936. During this period of time, LaFarge kept a journal, or diary, in which he explains, almost on a day-to-day basis, his actions, motivations, and impressions. This unpublished journal, which he entitled RUNNING NARRATIVE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE HOPI TRIBE OF INDIANS, 1936, is an invaluable insight into the creation of the Hopi Tribal Council. Another unpublished LaFarge report written shortly after the IRA elections, NOTES FOR HOPI ADMINISTRATORS, sheds additional light on this important historical development. Quotations from these two documents provide both tone and substance to a discussion of the creation of an IRA government in Hopi country.

DON KOTCHONGVA

LaFarge Comments on the Hopis

LaFarge's RUNNING NARRATIVE begins with these words written on his first day in Hopi country: "Attempting to organize these Hopis is at once extremely interesting, complex, and discouraging." From the beginning, LaFarge saw himself as an advocate for the IRA and a campaigner, committed to a role he would seek from time to time to hide behind a mask of academic neutrality, but a role which he undertook freely and even religiously.

By the second page of his journal, LaFarge already begins to reveal his general uneasiness with the Hopis. The Hopis were not clean enough to satisfy LaFarge:

The contrast between the dirt at Mishongnavi, and the cleanness of the meal I'd eaten [at a Tewa's house on First Mesa] was startling. Even though the latter was also off the floor. When I got home I washed and gargled with Zonite.

LaFarge elsewhere makes disparaging remarks about Hopi cleanliness, in one instance commenting about visiting a house which had "the medium [Hopi standard] dirt of the house", and in another instance he describes Mishonghovi in these terms: "All the Hopi villages are filthy, but this is the worst of the lot." It is soon made clear that LaFarge had a deep–seated prejudice against the Hopi people, an irrational bias which infected and tainted all of his work in Hopi country.

LaFarge's papers frequently reveal his preference for the Navajo and Tewa people over the Hopis. In commenting on the Tewas he made these disparaging comments about the Hopis:

Much intermarried with the Hopis, they still keep the Tewa language and much of the Tewa character. They are cleaner, less pronounced in smell, and more forthright.

His comparison between Tewas and Hopis also extends to other values and reveals LaFarge's bias against the pacifism of the Hopis:

The name Hopi means peaceful. They abhorr war and physical violence. Wherefore they quarrel constantly and the talking never ceases. In this respect the Tewas, who will punch a man's head for him, are a great relief.

The Tewas believe in settling a row by giving the offender a poke in the jaw. They are not afraid of fighting. Although they possess the long Pueblo memory, they become impatient with too long dwelling in the past and take much more readily than do the Hopis to realistic action for settling present problems.

Among the Hopis the cult of peace reaches an extreme, and all personal violence is looked upon with horror. With this comes an attitude of smug superiority towards all who fight including the white man whose weapons stand between the Hopis and the dreaded Navajo.

In general, LaFarge found that the Hopis had too many "unpleasant characteristics." He was more satisfied with the characteristics of the "progressive" Hopis of First Mesa, whom he felt had been changed from traditional Hopi values by the influence of the Tewas and Navajos:

Due to the influence of the Tewas, the considerable inter-mixture with the Navajos, this village shows the least of the unpleasant Hopi characteristics...it is the most accustomed to contact with the government, and in general the easiest to deal with.

LaFarge's catalogue of unpleasant Hopi characteristics includes "materialism, self-seeking, smugness and quarrelsomeness." "These Indians are good business men, penny squeezing, avaricious, fearful of the future, suspicious. Their good manners and friendly approach are from the lips out. They are intensely suspicious, and great harbourers of the memory of wrongs received."

The Hopi fight with words and sheer endurance, and consider nothing ever settled unless it is settled in their favour. Right, justice, reason, and plain fact do not affect them unless violently brought home, and even

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then they will grieve over it and hope for a rearrangement, a generation or more later.

At one point, LaFarge wrote in his diary, "how mean spirited I think the Hopis are." Even when begrudgingly praising their tenacity and independence, LaFarge frequently chose unflattering words to describe the Hopis:

The Hopis are a cantankerous and tight-minded group of Indians who have been right where they are for a thousand-odd years, and in this part of the country for two to four thousand years, and who intend to stay put.

It is sadly ironic that the man who would become the founding father of the Hopi Tribal Council had such a low general opinion of the Hopi people. That this man held himself out as a friend of the Hopis is astonishing. That it was he who brought the IRA constitution seems very understandable.

A Dishonest Campaign

Even if one were to concede that a man in LaFarge's position was entitled to his private prejudices and personal opinions, that concession does not condone the callous misuse of power which characterized LaFarge's campaign among the Hopis.

During his campaign to gain Hopi approval of a constitution and centralized tribal council, LaFarge usually tried to portray himself as a disinterested academic rather than as the politician and advocate he in fact was. He describes the opening remarks he made at a meeting he conducted at Hotevilla, a strongly traditional village, in these terms:

I had nothing to gain or lose, if the Hopis organized or not. It was entirely up to them. I had nothing to get from them. They were free to make up their minds as they would. I was laying no traps. This said quietly, calmly, in very emphatic and strong language.

In fact, LaFarge, Collier, and the BIA had much to gain or lose in prestige at the very least. Hopi acceptance of the IRA was considered by many to be a critical test of the new policy. This feigned neutral stance of LaFarge is described elsewhere in his notes, as he reports on his view of Hopi power under the IRA:

I wanted to maintain my role, of one seeking instruction, who could not lay down how things must be, but would learn from the Hopis. The Hopis must do it. This was not something the white man would do to or for them, but a power he offered, an authority, he laid it down here, they must pick it up, if it suited them.

This promise of new political power and authority through IRA organization was only one of the promises LaFarge made. He also echoed the words of Collier in his arguments that only through organization under the IRA could they hope to secure the return of their lands:

I told them that of course, they could not get back all that land. But they should have more than now, and the right to push the Navajos out of what was given to them. And their eagle hunting territories beyond should be protected.

When abuse of religious ceremonies and dances was discussed at these meetings in the Hopi villages, LaFarge held out the IRA organization as a solution to this problem too:

In this organization lay the means which the government itself provided for protecting the Hopi way.

Commissioner John Collier personally underlined the promise about protection of Hopi religion in a letter he sent to traditional Hopi religious leaders James Chuhoinva and Dan Kotchongva of the village of Hotevilla in June 1936:

[T]he best way to protect the old Hopi religion is to organize in the right manner under the Indian Reorganization Act.

LaFarge and Collier were clearly playing a politician's game, offering the IRA organization as a cure to all Hopi problems. All problems from land to religion could be easily resolved with a "yes" vote for the constitution and Hopi Tribal Council.

In the course of village-by-village campaign, LaFarge soon concluded that there were distinct factions within the Hopi community for which he would have to specially tailor his campaign. In his reports he named three distinct groups: (1) Progressives, (2) Smarties, and (3) Conservatives or Traditionals. His description shows his definite bias in favor of the Progressives:

Whether one likes or dislikes the Hopis he must admit that they are in some ways one of the most promising tribes in the United States. More than any other tribe known to me they are attempting to make conscious and intelligent selection from the good things of both white and Hopi culture. Roughly speaking, they tend to absorb and master our material techniques and improvements while retaining with full force their own aesthetic, religious, social and spiritual values. This type of man, dominant in the tribe, can be truly termed a progressive.

LaFarge cites the village of Bakabi as an example of this form of progressivism:

Consciously progressive and with a selfmade chief who believes in cooperation with the Government, they have formed an extremely pleasant little group. In contrast to the filth of other villages, this one is proud of its cleanliness, and will compare in appearance to the Rio Grande Pueblos.

LaFarge wrote that Bakabi and First Mesa were "the two most truly progressive of the real Hopis." He notes that the BIA Hopi Superintendents had "virtually no real contact with their Indians except at First Mesa."

The label of "Smarties" LaFarge applied to "self-styled progressives" whom he described in these terms:

These individuals, sometimes Christian and sometimes not, are social misfits and generally unstable and unreliable. Most of this group speaks fluent English and knows how to yes the government officials along. Unreasonable recognition of these individuals as leaders and spokesmen for their village has been a real factor in building distrust of the government and suspicion of any scheme of representation.

LaFarge concluded that the village of Kyakotsmovi (New Oraibi) was most typical of the Smartie group:

Here at Kiakuchomovi is all the meanness, stinginess, smartness, retentive memory of evil received, and distrust of the Hopi, and very little of the redeeming features. A Hopi taken out of the Hopi Road is a shell of a man.

These people, whose way of life has been materially improved by white contact, and who through their friendly approach to officials probably get more than their fair share of the jobs, retain the same violent sense of grievance against the government as the more conservative villages. Having partially lost the basic Hopi values, they retain the characteristic materialism, self-seeking, smugness and quarrelsomeness, which with their somewhat confused progressivism makes them the least attractive group to deal with.

He describes them as a "semi-progressive, flavourless and unattractive group."

Since individuals of this "self-styled--progressive-Smartie" group would come to power with the creation of the Hopi Tribal Council, it is worth noting that one of these individuals, Byron Adams, a Hopi Christian missionary and postmaster from First Mesa, was the object of a long warning written to BIA administrators, for LaFarge considered him a "deeply dishonest, self-seeking, slick and able man," a "low character and one of the villains of the piece." The creation of the Hopi Tribal Council opened the road to power for Byron Adams, a man whose missionary tracts reveal his contempt for the traditional "heathen" Hopi and who would, in 1943, as chairman of the Hopi Tribal Council, perform the last official act before the Council's collapse.

LaFarge expressed conflicting views about the Conservatives or Traditionals. In his initial contacts with them he was enthusiastic:

The Hotevilla leaders were strictly business, sincere, reasonable. These and Chimopavi (Shungopovi), the conservatives, are the best to deal with I've met so far. In the end, they will accept or reject for sound reasons of the commonweal. I wish they were all like these hostiles!

He described the strongly traditional village of Hotevilla in very positive terms:

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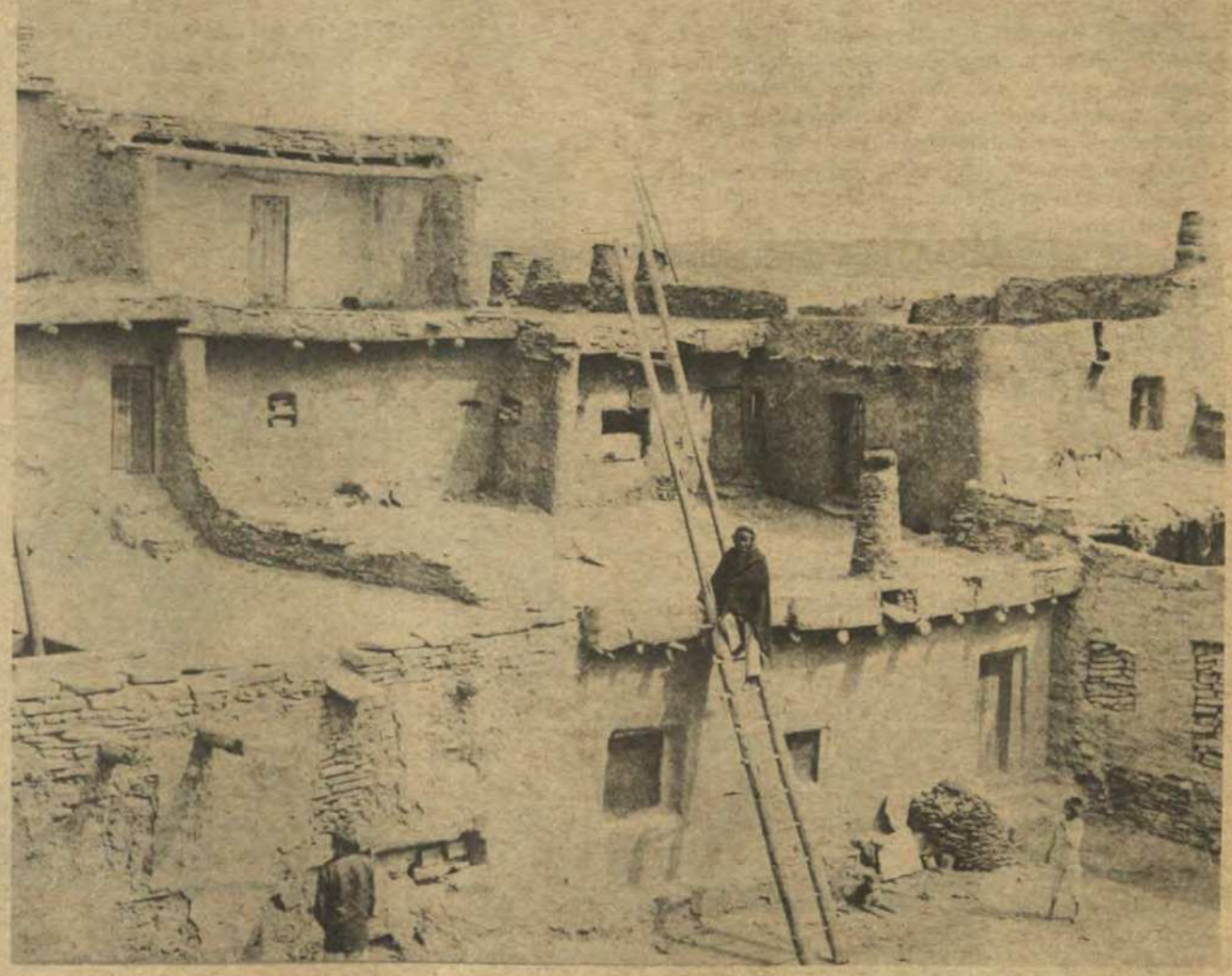


minority, which makes them very uneasy. Their natural way of doing is to discuss among themselves at great length and group by group until public opinion as a whole has settled overwhelmingly in one direction. It is during this process, too, that the Kikmongwis (sic) can exert his influence without entering into disputes. In actual practice this system is democratic, but it works differently from ours.

Opposition is expressed by abstention. Those who are against something stay away from meetings at which it is to be discussed and generally refuse to vote on it.

When he predicted the voter turnout he noted in his diary that the "dissident" traditionals would "refrain from voting."

Likewise, LaFarge knew that the low attendance at the meetings held in village-by-village campaigning was a continuing expression of Hopi dissatisfaction with his proposals:

It is very significant that even after the subject of the constitution had been discussed throughout the villages for two months, general meetings were very badly attended. In no case did ten percent of the voting population of a village attend one.

When the votes were finally counted and LaFarge's prediction of widespread abstention was realized, he admitted to himself, in his diary, that wholesale abstention such as that witnessed in Hotevilla should have been interpreted as an overwhelming vote of rejection:

[T]here were only 13 people in the village willing to go to the polls at all out of a potential voting population of 250, Kotchongva [a religious leader] having announced that he would have nothing to do with so un-Hopi a thing as a referendum.

Here also we see perfectly illustrated the Hopi method of opposition. The Hotevilla leaders did not work against the constitution, but merely announced that they would not touch it. On the day of the referendum they went to their fields to work. They said that everybody else was free to do as he desired. The result, abstention of almost the whole village from voting, should be interpreted as a heavy opposition vote.

Hotevilla's character and ideas are not peculiar, but are an emphatic form of the general Hopi pattern.

LaFarge knew that the consolidated village of First Mesa, the closest to the BIA agency, "is one of the few places where they will turn out to vote 'no,' when they're against something." As it turned out, even that "progressive" community turned out a total of 83 "no" votes. Only 21 "no" votes were officially recorded in all of the other Hopi villages combined, despite the fact that all parties involved in the election knew of the widespread opposition which existed in at least five of those villages. Thus, the successful boycott of the referendum by the village of Hotevilla was officially reported as a landslide victory of 12 votes in favor with only one vote in opposition. The 237 voters who boycotted the election in Hotevilla were simply ignored.

Since LaFarge himself acknowledged that abstention was a traditional Hopi way of expressing disapproval, it is no wonder he had trouble convincing traditional Hopis that it was fair for the Bureau to ignore them:

No amount of explaining could convince conservative Hopis that it was right that their failure to vote against the Reorganization Act had not been counted as so many negative votes.

To LaFarge and the BIA, the referendum had white American legitimacy, and that was all that mattered.

At least two other matters clouded the electoral process. First, the BIA Agency Superintendent took the extraordinary public position at the time of the election that abstention was a "yes" vote as far as he was concerned. This statement further confused and confounded an already troubled electorate. Oliver LaFarge dismisses that incident by saying it was "unfortunate":

Then the idea that the vote on the Wheeler-Howard Act was a fraud—the repercussion of Hutton's unfortunate statement that not voting was equivalent to voting yes.

The second especially troubling matter had to do with the form of the referendum ballot. The voting process had become tied up in religious symbolism. Many traditional Hopis were distressed by the fact that an "x" mark was to be used to indicate a preference on the ballot. To them, that mark was simply a cross drawn on an angle. The cross was a forbidden symbol. Because of their history of cruel Catholic Spanish Rule, many Hopis viewed the cross with the same repugnance as many Americans view the swastika. These Hopis would have nothing to do with an election utilizing such a symbol. In his notes about a pre-election meeting held in the village of Mishongovi, Oliver LaFarge admitted he was aware of the problem:

[T]he yes vote was indicated by an x, which is merely a cross drawn at an angle, and the cross is the sign the Spaniards brought with them when they came to the Hopi villages.

Nevertheless, when change in the form of the ballot was discussed with officials in Washington, LaFarge insisted on maintaining the ballot form which utilized an "x" to indicate one preference because, he wrote, "the vote ... ght be adversely affected if a change is made."

It cannot be ascertained at this late date what effect that decision may have had on the total recorded vote.

In sum, it must be concluded that the 1936 election which supposedly approved the constitution which created the Hopi Tribal Council might be best be characterized as wholesale manipulation and deception. At worst it might fairly be characterized as a fraud. It was a chauvinistic, arrogant, and to some degree racist, assault on traditional Hopi sovereignty. The admittedly paternal and authoritarian manner of Oliver LaFarge pervaded the entire electoral process leading to a final result which was anything but democratic. An anthropologist who studied this election came to a similar conclusion:

Collier reported to the secretary of the interior in 1936 that the Hopis had accepted the IRA by a vote of 519 to 299, the total votes cast representing 45 percent of the eligible voters, which more than satisfied the act's requirement that at least 30 percent of the eligible voters on any one reservation participate in the referendum (Collier 1936). According to Wilcomb Washburn (The Indian in America, page 255), Collier came up with a figure of 50 percent for the percentage of the eligible voters coming to the polls a year later, in 1936, to vote on the constitution, in his annual report of 1937.

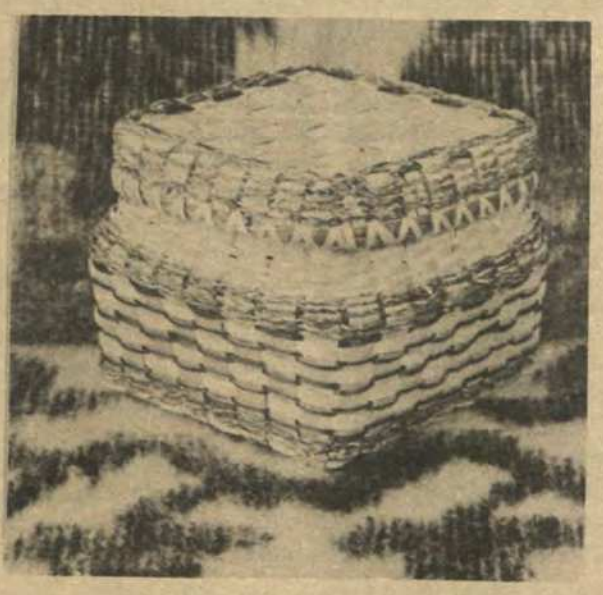
Yet, according to the statistics contained in the ratified and Interior-approved constitution itself, only 755 people voted in the constitutional referendum. This is 63 fewer people than voted in the 1935 referendum on the Indian Reorganization Act. How can 818 voters constitute 45 percent of the eligible voters in 1935 and, a year later, 755 voters constitute 50 percent of the eligible voters? And how did Collier arrive at the notion that 50 percent of the eligible voters flocked to the polls? Interior statistics show no figures—not even an estimate—of the number of eligible Hopi voters in 1936. How can one talk about percentages of eligible voters when reliable raw data about that population are not available? Haas (1947) gives two different total population figures for the Hopi in an official Department of Interior report. For 1935, the figure is 2,538; for 1936, it is 3,444. The only way to reconcile the two figures is to assume that 3,444 must be the total population, and 2,538 perhaps the adult population. Five-hundred-nineteen people voting "yes" for the IRA is barely 21 percent of 2,538. Twelve percent of those 2,538 voted "no." That makes 33 percent voting in that election, not 45 percent. And 755 people voting in the 1936 constitutional referendum does not constitute 50 percent of the eligible voters flocking to the polls. It represents 29 percent. Clearly, Collier made up his own statistics, and perpetrated a good deal of deception in order to make it seem as if the Hopi were seeing things his way, when they were not...

The low "yes" vote does not tell the whole story. A number of Hopis assert today that voters were told they were voting for retention of their land, not for reorganization; that registration papers were falsified; and that votes were fabricated.

IROQUOIS BASKETRY STYLES

A-2 – Fancy Sweet Grass Basket; Dyed or Natural splint, approximate size 8" x 6" **$12.50**

A-3 – Square Sweet Grass Basket; Dyed or Natural Splint, size 6½"x6½". **$12.50**



By all accounts, and the look of their village, they are intelligent and industrious Indians, enterprising, and law-abiding. They are in reality quite progressive, quick to take advantage of everything that is pushed at them by the white man, peaceful and law abiding.

He made similar favorable comments about Shungopovi:

It is dominated by a reasonable conservatism. I found its leaders good men to deal with. There seems to be an element here of greater vigor, despite a very earnest adherance to the pacifist doctrine.

LaFarge was respectful at first of the profound religious belief of these people:

Entirely governed by their religion, which has many admirable aspects, they are magnificently stuborn in their determination to live according to the Hopi path, and will face death and destruction, imprisonment, anything, to stand by their ideals and their gods. Through this they achieve real sincerity and strength. Once set, they make good friends. Their dance forms and their other work show them to be artists and craftsmen. They are very hard workers.

As LaFarge's campaign for approval of an IRA constitution ran into opposition from these traditional Hopis, his opinions began to change. As the opposition of Dan Kotchongva, religious leader from Hotevilla, became evident, LaFarge was piqued:

I have a certain sympathy with Kotchongva, but I think it would be a good thing if his prestige at Hotevilla could be lessened...the attitude of self-pity and false resistance is vicious. It's a racket. See where they stand on this constitution. They vote neither for nor against it. They wash their hands.

Here I met the perfection of the Hopi negative. In plain fact, Dan Kotchongva can find nothing to object to in this Constitution, but to take a public position, perhaps to guess wrong, to lift the mind out of a deeply engraved rut and actually think about a new thing, that approaches impossibility.

Hubell is right, these people think they're doing you a favour if they let you do something for them. They know well how important this is, but that won't make them take trouble. Save that they've got to try, they've got to learn to swim or go under in the end, I really think I'd recommend that the whole matter be dropped for a generation. They are too gutless.

They regard it as their sacred trust to maintain a rigid attitude of hostility to the Government, which does not conflict with grabing every benefit and free handout which comes their way, and yelling for more.

These intemperate and patronizing comments reveal the frustration LaFarge experienced when the traditional Hopis decided not to cast their lot with the IRA and the Hopi Tribal Council.

LaFarge finally declared that the conservatives or traditionals were a dying breed who would be completely supplanted within twenty years:

I have spoken of the time when the conservative faction will cease to exist. The younger members mainly adhere to it only out of respect for their elders, and I believe that within twenty years it will have dissolved.

As an outsider who was convinced that he knew what was best for the Hopis, LaFarge adopted an attitude very similar to others who had worked for the BIA in Hopi country, including a school teacher whom LaFarge severely criticized for expressing opinions remarkably similar to his own:

Had a talk this morning with Mrs. Cooke, the unchanged veteran teacher we knew in 1930. A sincere and kindly woman, hard working, has got herself to the edge of breakdown by her efforts. It is disappointing to her, how the Indians cling to their own ways, how few even of the educated ones, will take jobs away from home. They are so attached to their way of life and their ceremonies...Of course, they're just little children, they can't see anything but their own ideas. Particularly the old men, they just can't free their minds from their old ideas. Just as you think you're coming along fine, they bring something up that stops everything. Like children... Such people through all these years have operated on the Hopi. It's grotesque.

Both this school teacher and Oliver LaFarge lost sight of the history of Hopi passive resistance to outside domination. In their anger and confusion, these outsiders could only see childish and thoughtless rejection of all they considered good and true. While experiencing his rejection and frustration, LaFarge completely rewrites in his diary the sordid history of United States domination of the Hopis:

They are doing fine. No one is bothering them. They have no troubles fit to mention. The Hopis have been better treated than any other tribe in the United States, without exception, so far as my knowledge goes.

LaFarge would later retract that statement, but by the end of his campaign in Hopi country, he was at an emotional pitch, a self-styled prophet who was fulfilling "the white man's burden." A finale he wrote to his RUNNING NARRATIVE on September 11, 1936, discloses his feelings and his motives at that time: *The main theme I have in mind is the white man's burden. I have thought of it often in the past fifteen years, in different ways. It is a snare and a delusion, it is also a reality and something not to be ducked. I sat on my porch in the moonlight one warm night shortly before the Flute Ceremony, with a forbidden and quite strong drink of rye whiskey and water beside me. I had the evening clear, I was tired, I aimed for nine o'clock bed. I smoked my pipe and sipped and looked at the moon. I heard some girls laugh together, the high, rather silly laughter of adolescents in a group, I heard a woman speak and laugh, I heard a man go by on horseback, singing, I heard voices, I saw the lights up on top of the mesa, and faintly caught the shred of a song from up there. I heard cars moving. All these sounds and the lights tired me. With each observation I felt the weight again. They can play and laugh, but I am planning their futures. I carry them. There is no rest for me while I am aware of their presences.*

I thought then, and faced the facts about this Constitution. The Hopis are going to organize, first, because John Collier and a number of other people decided to put through a new Indian law, the Reorganization Act (Wheeler-Howard Act). The Indians didn't think this up. We did. Collier, Kohn, Cutting, Thomas, Wheeler, Harper, myself...so many others. They accepted it when they had their referendum last year, because Hutton put it across, just as the Jicarillas did because Graves and Wirt and I decided they should, and the Navajos rejected it because the missionaries and the Indian Rights Association worked against it. We came among these people, they didn't ask us, and as a result, they are our wards. It's not any inherent lack of capacity, it's the cold fact of cultural adjustment.

Charlotte Westwood (an attorney from the Solicitor's office), spoke to me about the fact that I said all the right things "this is your decision, it is up to you" and so forth, but that my manner was paternal and authoritarian. Sure it was. Why duck the facts? We bring to these Indians a question which their experience cannot comprehend, a question which includes a world-view and a grasp of that utterly alien, mind-wracking concept, Anglo-Saxon rule by majority vote, with everything that follows in the train of that.

The Hopis will accept a constitution which includes self-government and the best transition into our democratic system I could devise, because Edwin Marks (Hotevilla school principal) and Lorenzo Hubell (trader at Oraibi) and Alexander G. Hutton (BIA Agency Superintendent) and I decided they should. Primarily the decision was mine; the others upheld my hands...That is the white man's burden; to undo, despite the lack of comprehension of his wards, the harm that he himself has done.

Having orchestrated an admittedly authoritarian and paternalistic campaign, LaFarge was confident that the combination of "Progressive" and "Smartie" votes would carry the IRA referendum. As he prepared to leave Hopi country for Washington, he made a prediction of victory: *Well, this Constitution will be accepted. The vote will be about 800 to 200, out of 1,800 possible voters. Those who voted for the Wheeler-Howard Act will vote for it, plus the formerly adverse vote at First Mesa, which is one of the few places where they will turn out to vote "no," when they're against something. Dissident elements at Moshongovi, Shungopovi, Moenkopi, and Oraibi and the bulk of Hotevilla will refrain from voting. Sipaulavi, Kyakochumovi, Bakabi and upper Moenkopi will go for it almost solid, and the women, it seems, will vote in those places. I think Shungopavi will turn in a fair vote, perhaps half of the men and a few women.*

On August 28, 1936, he sent Commissioner John Collier a memorandum on the proposed IRA constitution in which LaFarge made the blatantly untrue statement that "Progressives and Conservatives alike are agreed upon the document thus formed." LaFarge knew full well that the traditional Hopis (whom he had finally labeled the "dissident elements") were not persuaded by his campaign and were in complete opposition to the constitution and its Hopi Tribal Council.

In a quieter moment after the election had been held, LaFarge wrote a preface to his RUNNING NARRATIVE journal in which he reflected on what had transpired. His conclusion to this preface is most sobering. It is a self–indictment in which he includes himself among the list of notorious enemies of the Hopis:

The Hopis have been operated on by everyone, official and unofficial, from Coronado through Kit Carson and General Scott to Oliver LaFarge. In almost every case they have suffered for it. They still stand almost where they did, but they are slightly cracking. Why they should ever trust any white man is a mystery to me.

The October 1936 referendum on the IRA constitution and Hopi Tribal Council which soon followed gave even more reason for traditional Hopis to distrust white methods. It would prove to be the capstone of the manipulative and fundamentally dishonest campaign which LaFarge had waged.

An Undemocratic Referendum: A Numbers Game

Since only 651 Hopis voted in favor of the Hopi Constitution which established the Hopi Tribal Council, the referendum could hardly be considered a mandate from the Hopis whose total population at the time is estimated at 4,500. One student of the Hopis has summed up the election in these words:

Despite the preponderant sentiment against the constitution,...acceptance by less than 15 per cent of the Hopis was enough to warrant adoption of the constitution and by-laws and the establishment of a tribal council.

Since the total vote included more than a third of those Hopis who were considered eligible voters, the BIA was satisfied with the election, and the Constitution was approved by the Secretary of the Interior in December 1936. A closer look at the electoral process, however, demonstrates that the referendum was a mockery of democracy.

There is little doubt among serious students of the Hopis that the recorded votes regarding the Constitution and Hopi Tribal Council in no way reflected the preponderant opposition which existed in Hopi society at that time, for the opposition was not recorded on ballots but by abstention. The mass of traditional Hopis opposing the IRA proposals took the traditional Hopi position of refusing to participate in the electoral process altogether. Oliver LaFarge, the government agent chiefly responsible for supervising the election campaign and referendum, was fully aware of the fact that Hopis in opposition would demonstrate their opinion in this traditional fashion. In his diary, LaFarge wrote:

[I]t is alien to [the Hopis] to settle matters out of hand by majority vote. Such a vote leaves a dissatisfied

HOPI CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

The Navajo Nation:

Relocation Threatens 6,000 Navajos

Relocation is the name of the game for the Dine (Navajo) who live just north of Black Mesa in what the government terms *the joint use area*. 6000 Navajos are being served eviction notices, all to be resettled into trailer parks by next year. Most of the people are Navajo, many intermarried with Hopis, and they all share a common stand — they will not move. Nor for Peabody Coal, not for the Tribal Councils and not for the Federal government's national energy policy. That's the bottom line from a declaration released at the 5th international Indian Treaty Council held at Big Mountain this June.

On the other hand, the government and the companies are moving in one and one half miles of fence is laid daily by the crews, who seek to section off the joint use area at the expense of sheepherders and the people. Two major problems which face the Big Mountain people are that 1) many of the water wells are controlled by mining companies, and 2) the people are commodity recipients. When the time comes, the companies and the government are going to be quick in cutting off the water and food to insure orderly removal.

This area is an energy colony to the United States. In 1975 alone, the Navajo (Dine) Nation explored enough energy resources to fuel the needs of the states of New Mexico for 32 years. The government calls the region — the Grants Mineral Belt — source of stripmined coal, energy resources and about half of our national uranium production. What the studies don't say is that over half of the Grants Mineral Belt is on reservations and Chicano land grants, with a larger portion legally native land under international law.

Today 33 uranium mines, 3 uranium mills, 3 coal strip mines, 4 coal fired power plants, and as few other technological industrializations dominate the land, water and people. On the horizon, the Burear of Indian Affairs predicts up to 1100 uranium mines, 10 uranium mills, with 6 coal gasification plants, additional underground and surface coal mines, and a national nuclear waste disposal site also on the horizon. In order for this industrialization to be possible, the uncooperative indigenous population must be removed.

About 200 miles away from the relocation area, more people may or may not be relocated according to how severe the problem is considered by the government. On July 16, 1979, some 100 million gallons of radioactive liquids were released in Grants, NM, self-named "The Uranium Capital of the World". The radioactive release reesulted from the breaking of a dam at a tailings pond at the United Nuclear-Homestake Partners mill. The tailings pond "ferments" radioactive tailings to "settle" out the particles. This is what escaped, not a little bit of radiation. The July 27, 1979 New York Times reported that water in the Rio Puerco (which is usually dry this time of year) was overflowing the banks as the waste water spilled down the arroyo. The radiation count of the water of Rio Puerco gave readings of 100,000 pico curies per liter. The safe drinking water limit is 15 pico curies per liter. State inspectors for New Mexico have stated that 250 acres of land and 30 miles of stream are highly radioactive — with all the runoff ending up in the Colorado River.

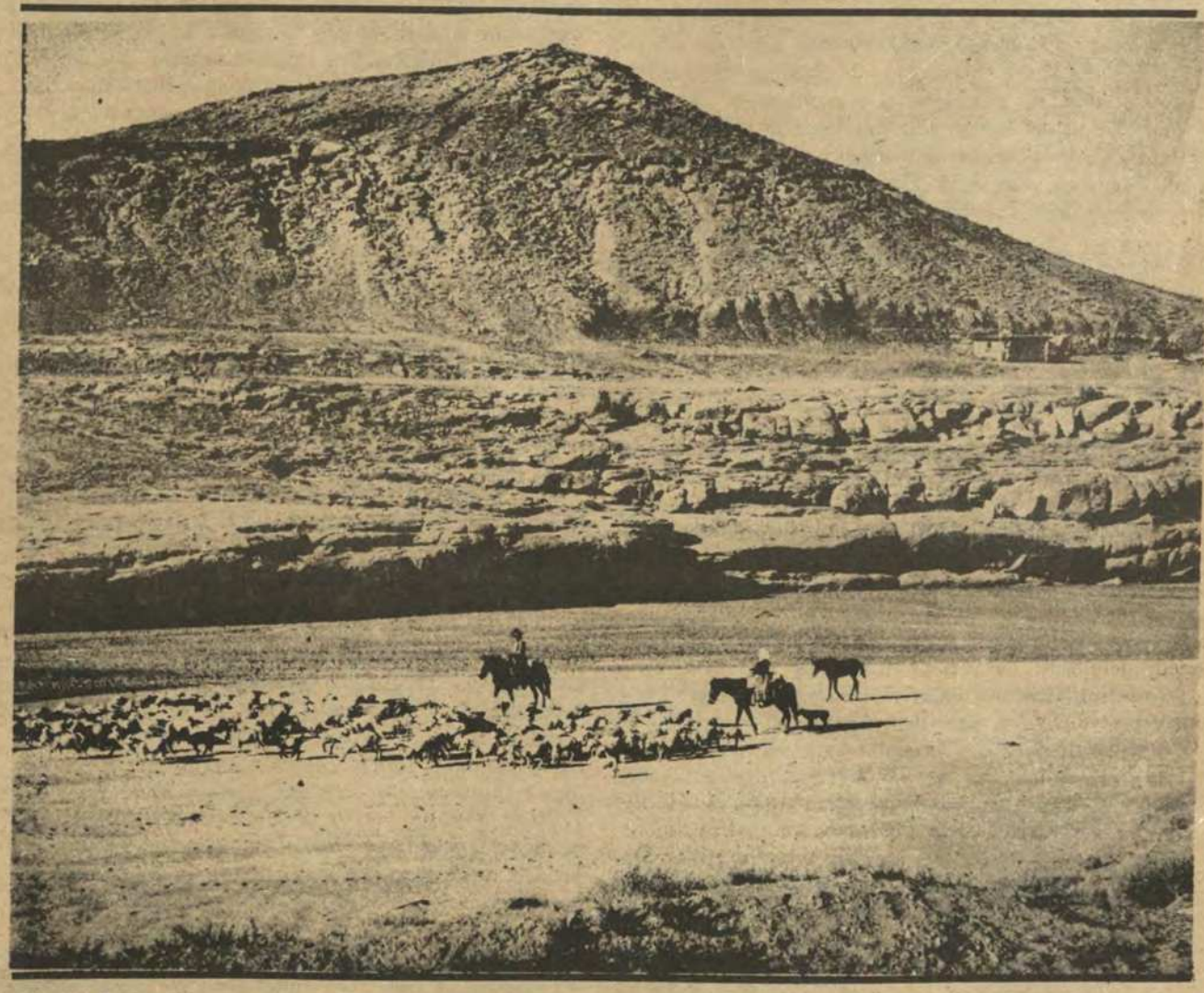
So far, no one has been relocated, but signs posted in English, Spanish and Navajo tell people not to drink the water or allow their livestock near the Rio. 9 families are being supplied with drinking water by the United Nuclear-Homestake Company. However, many more are being effected. Another local community, the San Mateo Land Grant who host the Gulf Oil uranium mine complex at Mt. Taylor also have contaminated water. They have requested assistance in pumping in water for livestock and human consumption.

These events are a part of the National Sacrifice Area, coming into reality as the land, water and people are destroyed by energy resource exploitation.

Los Alamos Scientific Labs also located in the area has proposed that the land be zoned into uranium mining and milling districts so as to forbid human habitation." It is already starting in the Southwest.

The local Chicano, Native nations and Anglos are organizing for the protection of the land and the people. The American Indian Environmental Council is key to this, working with all colors of people who live in the area to halt the exploitation. The Environmental Council has requested food, clothing and money for the to be relocated Navajos, and similar assistance to the victims of the UN-H "booboo".

All this can be sent to the AIEC at 1503 Central NW, Albuquerque, NM 87104. Additional supporters should come to the Rally, sponsored by the Chicano organizers of the area, in opposition to the National Nuclear Waste Disposal Site (WIPP) to be located in a Chicano area, and other deadly forms of "progress". The rally will be held September 28 in Albuquerque and at Florencia, NM a day later. ●



Land Rights, Not Uranium Mines

By Tom Barry

Mount Taylor, NM -- Native Americans stand at the front of the hazardous nuclear fuel process. Much of the nation's uranium mining and milling occurs on Indian land in New Mexico, Arizona, Wyoming, South Dakota, and Washington. Thousands of Indians work in the radioactive conditions of the underground uranium mines, and many have already died of radiation-induced lung cancer.

On April 28 and 29th, about 500 Indian, Chicano, and white people rallied in front of Gulf Oil's uranium mine on Mount Taylor in northwestern New Mexico. They gathered from all parts of the country to demand an immediate halt to uranium mining on Indian land and the shutdown of the nuclear power industry. The demonstration was organized by the American Indian Environmental Council (AIEC) following the national No Nuclear Strategy Conference in Kentucky last August.

New Mexico is the nation's largest uranium producing state, with over half of the production of this radioactive fuel coming from Navajo and Pueblo Indian land. Gulf Oil is sinking the world's deepest uranium mine shaft into the side of Mount Taylor, a mountain considered sacred by the Indians of northwestern New Mexico. The Gulf site also sits next to a rural Chicano town on lands stolen from the town's community land grant.

While Indians and Chicanos were calling for land rights, the nearby uranium boomtown of Grants, NM was hosting a parade to promote nuclear energy. Grants bills itself as "The Uranium Capital of the World." The Energy Association of Taxpayers (EAT), an organization supported by the uranium industry, sponsored the march. The industry and many residents of the Grants area feel threatened by the efforts by Indians and anti–nuclear activists to shut down the nuclear industry. EAT recently formed after a group of 92 Navajos sued the Department of Interior and the Department of Energy to stop uranium mining until adequate environmental safeguards are found for radioactivity released during the extraction and processing of the ore.

The Department of Interior calls northwestern New Mexico "the hottest uranium exploration area in the

country" The largest open pit uranium mine in the world operates on the Laguna Pueblo on the eastern side of Mount Taylor.

"Because over 55% of the nation's uranium is on Indian land, we're the first to be poisoned," declared Diane Ortiz from the Acoma Pueblo.

"Indian people," she said, "have always had a deep respect for nature. We did not try to control it, manipulate it, or use it for destructive purposes. Uranium mining is an insult to the health of all living things. It should be left in the ground America doesn't need it."

Sickness, death, and destruction caused by nuclear power development is already a severe reality for many Indian people of the Southwest. Due to their high level of radioactive exposure, at least 25 Navajo uranium miners have died of lung cancer and another 20 have developed the dread disease in the Shiprock area of the Navajo Nation. A total of ten million tons of radioactive uranium wastes lie unattended near Navajo communities. Several communities — never warned of the hazard — have constructed their homes from the radioactive mill tailings.

The increased price of uranium in the past four years has increased uranium mining and milling in the Southwest. The Sioux and Spokane Indian people in South Dakota and Washington have also recently been confronted by the booming industry. Uranium activity is now also affecting the native peoples of Saskatchewan and British Columbia in Canada.

Because of the spiritual significance of Mount Taylor, members of the Navajo Medicinemen's Association and the spiritual leaders of Acoma and Hopi pueblos spoke and offered blessings in support of the anti-uranium mining demands. Hopi elder David Monongye told of the Hopi prophecy about the coming of the "Danger Time" of ecological catastrophe if people don't respect the earth. The respected leader compared the mountain to a church of the non-Indians. "It must not be torn down or destroyed," he said.

"Those who want the mountain are like a crackerjack," he said. "Like it says on the crackerjack box, 'the more you eat the more you want.' They are greedy people who are trying to take all our land away from us. But we're not going to let go of it; this land is ours."

Medicineman James Watchempino of Acoma Pueblo told the gathering: "We all know the big oil companies want to try and destroy our beautiful mountains and our mother earth. The elders still remember when this country was beautiful. Now we don't breathe fresh air and don't see so many birds anymore."

Representatives from all parts of the energy rich Navajo reservation travelled sometimes hundreds of miles to the demonstration to tell of struggles against energy exploitation. Speakers from Aneth, Utah told of their fight to control the oil companies in the Aneth Oilfield, which occupiers shut down last year.

A contingent from Big Mountain, Arizona walked six days across the reservation to Mount Taylor to add their voices to those calling for an end to uncontrolled mineral development of Indian land.

"It seems like we're not human to them," said Navajo sheep herder Roberta Blacko, who lives 15 miles from the Black Mesa Coal Mine of Peabody Coal. "They treat us like lizards on the ground. If I lose my land to the companies, my grandchildren will blame me because they will have no place to live and to lay their heads down to rest."

A group of Navajos also travelled from the Shiprock area, where the Coalition for Navajo Liberation is now fighting the 400,000 acre Exxon uranium exploration lease.

Kee Begay, who worked in the uranium mines near Shiprock for over twenty years, said, "If they want to mine uranium, they should first find a cure for it -- for the lung cancer it produces."

Another former uranium miner told the crowd: "I had the good fortune of occupying a mining job, but after a few years the material things started to dwindle. Many of the people I have been with in the mines were beginning to die. My heart weeps for them. I see Navajo widows trying to eke out a living, holding out their hands begging trying to care for their children."

The Indian people of North America are not the only indigenous people to face the threat of nuclear power development. Australian-born physician, author and anti-nuclear activist, Helen Caldicott, told the Indians of New Mexico about her recent trip to Australia where the U.S. firms have discovered what may be the richest deposit of uranium in the world under aboriginal land.

"Their land is their religion, and, like you Indians, they worship the land," she said in an emotional speech. "What Gulf is doing to your land, Gulf is doing in Australia to sacred aboriginal land. All the oil companies and multinationals are in Australia about to destroy aboriginal land."

"We, the white people have nearly destroyed you the people who got the answers to the mysteries of life and the mysteries of the universe. You mustn't let us destroy you anymore," she said.

"Right here at Mount Taylor starts the nuclear fuel cycle, and the young Indian men who will be mining it will be dying of lung cancer. They will die a dreadful pain and will cough up blood," asserted Caldicott, who said the slogan of the aborigines is "Land Rights, Not Mining."

At the National No Nuclear Strategy Conference last summer, John Redhouse, a AIEC director and organizer of the Mount Taylor rally, stated "there is increasing opposition by Indian people to uranium exploration."

"Because Indians control so much of the country's uranium supply, they are in a position to potentially prevent much of the hazardous front end of the nuclear fuel cycle," he said.

The New Mexico Indian leader added that "Indian people are beginning to work closely with the Australian aborigines and the Black indigenous people of Namibia on the uranium development issue."

THE APOCALYPTIC GENERATION

George Wald, noble laureate for physics, spoke at the Mount Taylor rally, saying that Indian people have been given the worst land to live on.

Wald, who spoke the previous day at the anti-nuclear demonstration at Rock Flat, CO., said: "Uranium mining isn't healthy. It isn't healthy to live near the mines or the tailings. Every dose is an overdose. There's no amount of radioactivity that is released that does no harm."

The white-haired physicist called the young people of today the "apocalyptic generation" because of the near likelihood of a nuclear war. He advised that only the power of people could stop a nuclear catastrophe. We should take our example from the people of Iran who went out into the streets unarmed and overthrew an oppressive government.

Winona LaDuke, a representative of Women of all Red Nations, asked that women take a "special responsibility" to stop nuclear development and the exploitation of Indian land.

"When we take uranium out of the ground, it affects the women first through the fetuses and our children," she said. "Power is now in the hands of the men who created the technology, the few people who control our land and lives, our children, and our resources."

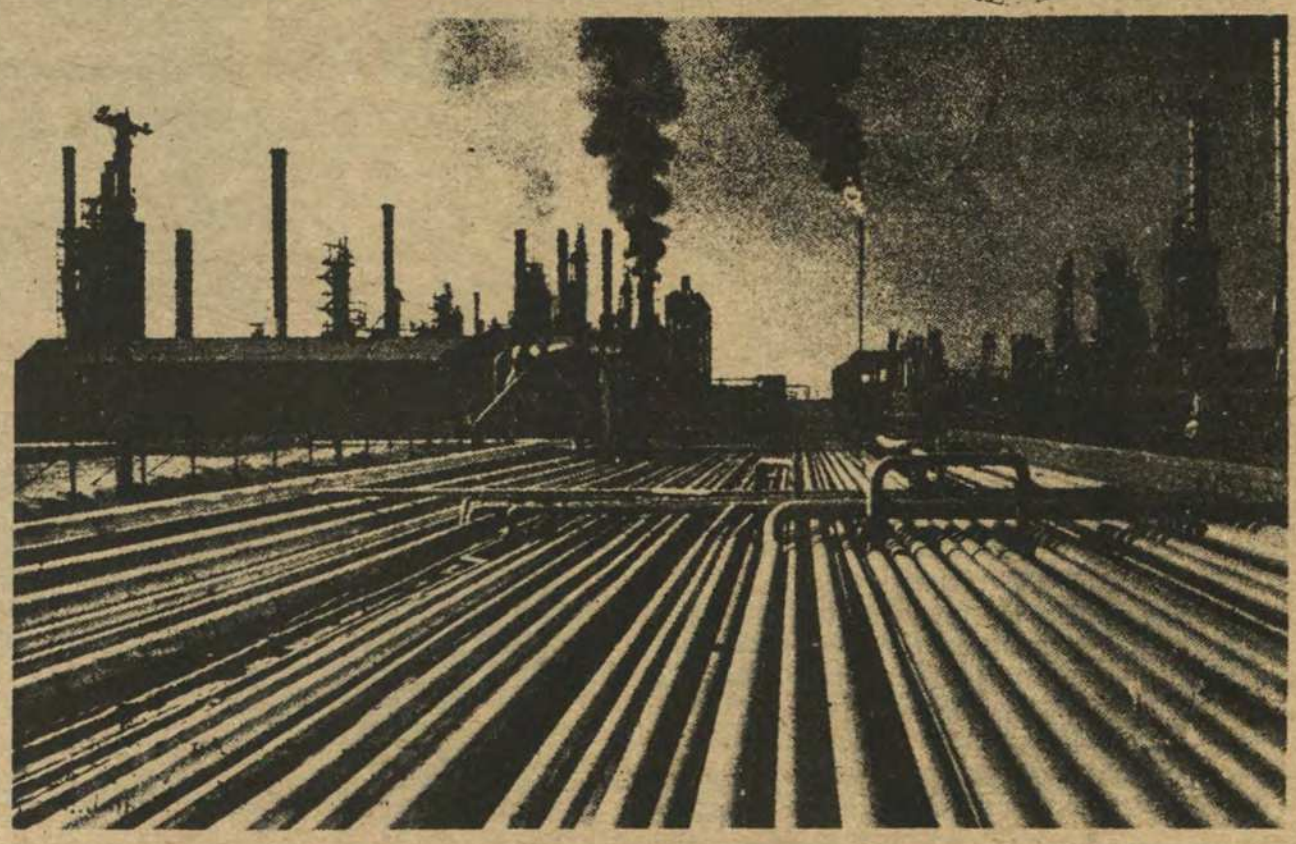
The Indian leader quoted the Cherokee proverb: "A nation is not destroyed until the hearts of the women are on the ground."

She warned though that nuclear power is only one small part of the monster facing the people of the United States. "We are fighting the biggest companies in the world and the government endorses them and subsidizes them and helps them onto Indian land," said La Duke.

American Indian Movement (AIM) leader John Trudell warned the gathering that just because they knew their cause was righteous did not mean that they would overcome the oppressor. "We are worried," he said, "that if the people do not come together in a conscientious purposeful way in this movement, there may not be another time. If you are going to fight the enemy through the anti-nuclear movement, let's fight them that way, because if we don't we may have lost touch with our future. This is not just an anti-nuclear movement, this is a movement to free ourselves from the enemy."

"It is necessary that we have an understanding of our spiritual identity," Trudell said. "But this is not a religious crusade. Religion will not free us. It has been the ruling class way to separate you from your true spiritual identity," which he described as being in touch with the land and land rights.

Many of the speakers expressed optimism about the anti nuclear movement in New Mexico because of the success organizers have had in bringing Indian, Chicano, and white people into working coalitions.



THE BLACK HILLS ALLIANCE

BHA JULY ACTION

On friday night, July 6th, it was called a "Symposium to Save the Hills."

On Saturday, July 7th, it was a Walk, 20 miles long in the blistering heat.

On Sunday, July 8th, it was the meeting of many minds and different backgrounds at a campsite in the Black Hills.

Nearly 8,000 people from the four corners of North America gathered in the Black Hills of Western South Dakota.

The event, sponsored by the Black Hills Alliance, was designed to create a coalition of many organizations and concerned individuals — a coalition that would focus on the possibility that all may put their minds, talents and work together to save the Black Hills from their imminent destruction.

Uranium mining is coming to the Black Hills. Uranium mining — the beginning of the nuclear fuel cycle — a most toxic undertaking. And that is only the first step. The whole Northern Plains Region surrounding the Black Hills has been designated a "National Sacrifice Area" to energy development. There will be stripmining for coal, coal gasification plants, nuclear waste disposal sites, a complete dewatering of the area within thirty years and a projected nuclear power park of several interconnecting nuclear reactors.

The BLACK HILLS ALLIANCE was formed in early 1979 and is composed of traditional Indian men and women and AIM People, white ranchers and farmers, anti-nuclear activists, and hundreds of concerned individuals from all over the Midwest. It represents the first time in South Dakota that Indians and non-Indian ranchers and farmers have joined together to fight a common threat. It represents also an emerging common sense that, in the words of Ted Means of the Lakota Nation: "In ten years time, there won't be anything left for us to fight over."

This is a critical time for the People of the Northern Great Plains.

In the seven western counties of South Dakota, the search for uranium has become a new gold rush. Twenty-seven corporations are scouring over one million acres for uranium or any other mineral they can extract economically. Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) and Union Carbide tell the local people that their exploration and mining won't do them or their land any harm. But it is no coincidence that Fall River County, the only South Dakota county to experience heavy uranium mining in the 1950's through the early 1970's, has a cancer rate 50% higher than any other county in the state. In the streets of downtown Edgemont, geiger counter needles are throttled by the radioactivity. Outside of Edgemont sit 3,200,000 tons of radioactive tailings. They emit radon gas continuously. The radioactive gas is then blown by the winds across the countryside.

One million acres in the Black Hills area are under exploration for uranium. A total of 193,802 acres is currently under lease to the energy companies. TVA alone has leased 103,000 acres to supply a yearly energy fix of 7 to 8 million tons of yellowcake for its seventeen operating or soon-to-be-operating nuclear reactors. TVA will be deep shaft mining in four areas near Burdock in Fall River County. There will also be open-pit mining in Custer County, and operation of a uranium and vanadium processing mill near Edgemont.

The BHA's "Gathering of the People" this past July attempted to focus the attention of people in the area surrounding the Black Hills on the terminally destructive reality of all this planned development. It also attempted to advance further unity.

AIM leader John Trudell said, "We are not your enemy, we never have been." He spoke of the sad situation these days when Americans of all races "have such a low spirit that they will allow themselves to be ruled by liars and exploiters." In South Dakota, he said, "the new Indian is white."

Madonna Thunder Hawk, co-founder of Women of All Red Nations (WARN) spoke of the first time Indians applauded a white rancher at a Black Hills Alliance meeting, and how strange it seemed. "We discovered that many non-Indian people had Indian values, like respect for the land and respect for all living things . . . The basic issues are basic to all people."

The white rancher she referred to was marvin Kammerer, a third generation South Dakota rancher who is a serious opponent of the mining. Kammerer spoke of the need for white and Indian people to join in opposing the multi-national corporations who, he said, "are no longer seeking to meet the needs of the people, only their money coffers."

He reminded the audience that the Black Hills are sacred to the Indians, and said, "There is no way we as Christians would like to see the guts torn out of Jerusalem."

"What they (the Indians) lost and are trying to preserve is in our best interest," he said.

As a rancher, Kammerer sees himself as a steward of the land. "We've got to put land back in a different perspective," the father of seven explained. "Land is a natural resource and given the right chance land renews itself by careful stewardship, and that's what I hope I am — a steward."

"Land is to grow food," he continued. "We owe it to our children to leave them a place to produce food — with safe air and safe water."

Kammerer said it's necessary for people to cross racial barriers and work together. "Racism can play right into the hands of the multi-national corporations," he told the audience.

"If we're so smart and nuclear energy is so safe, why in the world haven't we found a way to destroy nuclear waste?" he asked. He said that it's been proposed that radioactive wastes be dumped in the shale deposits of the Midwest.

"We are not ever going to let them dump any nuclear waste in South Dakota," he told the cheering crowd, "We are going to send them a message and say no. We don't want uranium mining or stockpiling of uranium or imported waste. We want it to stop."

Kammerer said he is convinced that the country's needs can be met with available technology, though it will be necessary to avoid waste of natural resources.

Some of the workshops back at the camp included a planning session for the 1980 International "Gathering for Survival."

The "Gathering for Survival" is an event that the Black Hills Alliance will be sponsoring in July of 1980.

The planning meeting, held in a large, overflowing green army tent, included about 350 people representing a variety of organizations, families and nations.

In the words of one participant from Illinois: "We talked about survival politics — some thing the Indians can teach the United States' progressive movement quite a bit about."

SHORT NOTES

ANACONDA: The Industrial Snake

by Winona La Duke

In the 1860's was the discovery of different uses (technology) of oil for an ever "growing America." That is a growing American Industrial State. Within months of the development of oil technology, was the growth of oil companies. The companies started in the eastern colonies and moved west. Oil was soon discovered in Oklahoma Indian territory, land protected by the supreme law of the land.

In the early 1800's, many Indian nations were forcibly relocated from their lands on the eastern seaboard to Oklahoma Indian territory. The Cherokee nation was one of these Indian nations, marched during the cold of winter from their Southeast lands to Oklahoma. The walk, called the Cherokee Trail of Tears, killed over one quarter of the Cherokee people. The remainder of the Cherokee nation arrived in Oklahoma to live with the other relocated and native Indian nations. They lived on land guaranteed and protected by treaty. The treaty provisions of "as long as the grass shall grow", lasted only till the discovery of valuable resources – oil. In the name of "national need," Oklahoma Indian nations were forced to provide the fortunes of Standard Oil, Phillips Petroleum and a few other oil companies. Indian land and blood was transformed into oil money.

Coupled with the extraction of oil from Oklahoma, came a decrease in Indian people. In a federal census of 1890, there were approximately 180,000 Indians, by 1907 there were just over 100,000 Indians from the same nations and by 1930 the government estimated that there were just over 72,000 Indians living in Oklahoma. In 40 years of big "oil boom" over 100,000 Indians disappeared. Indians "disappeared," by removal, kidnapping and even mass murder. Indian children were stolen from their houses, to the hands of adopters (grafters) who sought control of the heirs to oil royalties. Ambitious grafters could accumulate dozens of Indian heirs.

At the same time the government was passing out disease ridden blankets and food to Indians. Indians were seen as an economic burden to America.

Each generation land speculators, railroads, mining and oil companies have demanded more Indian resources. The governments of native America have always transferred Indian lands and resources to the economic parts of U.S. and Canadian society. In each "land transfer" Indian nations have had less and less to Survive on, land for food has become land for money. It is not too surprising that as our land base decreases, our population diminishes.

In 1976, ARCO was the 7th largest oil company. ARCO reached this position by working with the federal government. The federal government, in turn, has benefited from ARCO's wealth. For example: ARCO has made thousands of dollars worth of contributions to campaigns of senators, representatives and other government officials, including to Nixon's re-election campaign in 1972. ARCO is also in charge of radioactive nuclear waste storage for the federal government at the Hanford Reactor in Richland, Washington. In 1973, ARCO allowed 115,000 gallons of high level radioactive wastes to leak out of tanks at the site. In 1974, the federal government began antitrust investigations of ARCO, and seven other major oil companies (most of them are descendents of the Standard Oil Trust). It is obvious that the investigations have had little effect on ARCO or the others, since ARCO has continued to diversify and expand. As of this time, no decisions have been reached. In 1976, ARCO purchased the London Based Observer, a large newspaper. In 1976, ARCO also purchased ANACONDA, the second largest copper producer (after Kennecott Copper), and one of the largest uranium producers. Now the two are the same company.

Needless to say, ANACONDA did not crawl out from under a rock to be purchased by ARCO. Basically, the history of ANACONDA competes in "ugliness" with ARCO's history of genocide against Indian and other native peoples. The two are a perfect pair.

ANACONDA started by mining copper in Butte, Montana. Anaconda, Montana, is also the site of an ANACONDA mine. Butte is the site of the largest open pit copper mine. By 1943, ANACONDA was producing one third of the nations copper, mostly from this mine.

According to Montana law, ANACONDA has the right to relocate people if the company finds copper (or other valuable resources) on the residents land. ANACONDA uses this law to pressure Butte and Anaconda residents. ANACONDA's Butte mine is over a mile across, and 1,200 feet deep. ANACONDA has drilled over 10,000 miles of underground mines under the city of Butte. People who live in Butte are constantly moving because ANACONDA wants their lands.

The company is especially influential because over one third of the people of Butte are ANACONDA employees. When ANACONDA increased production at another mine in Twin Buttes (Pima County, Arizona), ANACONDA decreased production in Butte and decided to close parts of the company's copper concentrator plants in both Anaconda and Butte. Closures will cause many problems for the towns whose economies are totally dependent upon the company.

In 1978, there are little over 80,000 Indian people living in Oklahoma and in 1974, the federal government recognized only 625 acres as the Indian land bases, the remainder (still) leased out to oil companies.

It is undeniable that the oil companies, operating in collaboration with the federal government destroyed the Indian peoples land in Oklahoma. The brief history of our great grandparents and the government outlines this.

The story does not end, however, as the "profit motive" is a very strong drive.

By 1911, the oil companies had become huge "trusts." The Standard Oil trust controlled most of the market. Standard Oil was started and remains a part of the Rockefeller family. The federal government "broke up" the Standard Oil trust in 1914, by "Anti-trust" legislation the trust was broken into 34 new oil companies, names including Esso of NJ (Exxon), Mobil Oil, Conoco, and Atlantic Richfield (ARCO). It is not surprising that since this time these companies many of which are still based in Oklahoma, have expanded to become the largest corporations in the world. ARCO is a member of this very select group of large corporations.

Anaconda And The Nuclear Fuel Cycle

The first Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) was established by the Department of War. The president and Secretary of War sought a peaceful use for the force which had destroyed two Japanese cities: Nuclear energy. In 1951, ANACONDA "discovered" the uranium reserves of the Laguna Pueblo. By 1952, ANACONDA was selling uranium ore to the AEC, for test nuclear reactors and nuclear bombs.

ANACONDA negotiated a lease with the Laguna Tribal Council, paying pitiful royalties to the tribal treasury. This lease started the cycle which has made Indian nations the fifth largest uranium producers in the world.

ANACONDA used the same tricks as in Chile, and in 1975, Lagunas were receiving roughly 2% of the value of the uranium at the market; most of the rest goes to ANACONDA. While ANACONDA profits, and the federal government is able to spend billions of dollars on bombs, the people of the Village of Paguate (the site of the mine) are faced with the consequences.

A few weeks ago, I visited a Laguna miner who lives at Paguate, Ernesto Lorenzo. He said that the payments for the land at Paguate were never received in full from the BIA Tribal Council–ANACONDA transaction. Nor were the people paid for ANACONDA highway which had to be built for the large trucks. The land which ANACONDA uses for the mine was formerly the agricultural valley of the Village of Paguate. The land was irrigated by the Rio Paguate.

The five mile long mine has made craters, ridges and mesas out of the valley. The Rio Paguate runs right through the mine. The contaminated water, which is bright green, waters the few remaining sheep herds of the Village. The sheep concentrate the radiation in their bodies, which in turn feed the people of Paguate. It is not surprising that village representatives say that stomach cancer has increased.

At approximately twelve o'clock every day, ANACONDA blasts away part of the mesa, jolting all of Laguna. Blasting is common two or three times a day. Inblasting people have been injured by boulders and rock slivers flying at high speeds

Only July 12, 1978, 25 years after the mine opened, Federal Safety Inspectors came to the mine. The inspectors closed down three trucks and several ore loaders, because of their "unsafeness." Most of the equipment at the Jackpile mine is over twenty years old, since ANACONDA has "economized" on the equipment. One truck driver at the mine commented that all of the trucks should be shut down, since brakes, steering and other basic mechanics don't work. The federal inspectors, however, passed the rest of the trucks.

Although the mine has produced for over 25 years, ANACONDA has not reclaimed any of the land, in fact the company cannot prove that reclamation is possible. One idea of reclamation includes making a mesa out of what was once an agricultural valley. Unfortunately, radioactive piles of rock slab and "mining wastes" (including low grade ore) do not provide any hope of food-producing land for the village.

Other physical effects of ANACONDA's mine include deafness incurred by mine workers, subjected to the sound of tearing rock for eight hours a day. Residents of Laguna are also subjects to radioactive gases which come in clouds after the blasting.

The psychological effects of uranium mining are less apparent to the casual observer. The people of Laguna, seeing, hearing and engulfed by ANACONDA are the objects of cultural genocide. ANACONDA has already desecrated several sacred mesas of the Laguna and the destruction plans continue. The company "owns" the land on which the sacred snake of the Laguna people rests will this be the site of the next underground mine?

THE FUTURE

ANACONDA says that mining will end in about 1985, when the mine will no longer be producing in "paying quantities," a provision of the lease. This date isn't too surprising since the strip mine "efficiently producing" twenty four hours a day, and underground mines producing sixteen hours a day fill many railroad cars with ore. Some days, the Santa Fe railroad moves 70-80 cars to the ANACONDA mill at Grants (NM).

At ANACONDA mill ANACONDA has seventy five acres of milltailings (retaining 85% of the radioactivity) untreated. ANACONDA's idea of environmental protection is covering the milltailings with one-two feet of soil.

Where does this stop? The legacy of power and abuse in ANACONDA and ARCO is almost unending. The corporation and it's affiliates continue to expand and devour. ANACONDA started by mining copper in Butte, Montana.

ANACONDA has drilled over 10,000 new miles of underground mines under the city of Butte. People who live in Butte are now moving because ANACONDA wants their lands. ANACONDA has determined that it will get what it wants, and will stop at nothing.

SHORT NOTES

THREE MILLION DOLLAR SUIT AGAINST FEDERAL GOVERNMENT UNDERWAY

by Paula Jones

Tulsa, Oklahoma (TULSA INDIAN NEWS) – "The Federal Government is conducting a Massive Sterilization campaign against American Indians," is the announcement made by United Native American President of San Francisco in a press conference held April 27 at the Tulsa Indian News. Lehman L. Brightman, formerly of Eufaula, Oklahoma, was a 1971 football player for OSU before moving to California. From a two-and-a-half year study made by United Native Americans, Mr. Brightman states, "We estimate they've sterilized between 60–70,000 Indian women within the last twelve years. Most of these operations were performed without the consent of these women. The Government is doing this by conceit and abortion, they lie to the people by telling them the operations are reversible and we find in many cases the doctors intimidate them. This is going on over the entire United States, but basically it's being carried out in 18 major states that have populations of 10,000 Indians or more and also the states having the highest concentration of natural resources such as gas, timber, uranium, oil, etc.

"Most sterilizations were conducted while the women were having children or immediately after. The interesting thing is, most of these women did not give consent to this, the government is wantingly and willingly sterilizing them. This is nothing more than pure criminal genocide," says Brightman.

"The first indication the Government was sterilizing Indians in such mammoth proportions came about in 1976. Senator James Abourezk from South Dakota announced in a federal report the Government had sterilized 3,406 Indian women and 142 men in a 3-year period from 1973 – 1976. During this period they concentrated only on four states – Oklahoma, South Dakota, Arizona, and New Mexico. In 1974, a moratorium by federal court order was placed on all these sterilizations. Immediately after this 36 more people were sterilized," states Brightman.

Brightman goes on to say, "At the same time as the sterilization was going on, the Government used Indian children as guinea pigs in 56 different projects as experimentations. The parents were not involved, nor did they give their permission for these medical experiments to be performed.

"In 1966, the U.S. Army in affiliation with the University of Minnesota, took 100 children from the headstart program of the Red Lake Chippewa Reservation, and watched a skin disease called Impetigo spread into its later stages called Lymphadentitis, a disease that causes kidney failure. Afterwards 15 cases with small amounts of blood in their urine were taken to the University of Minnesota. They were given a biopsy of the kidney which is extremely painful, after anesthetizing the hip, a long needle was used to remove portions of the kidney. Evidence of kidney damage was found in all 15 children - none of these children were ever treated. This is just ONE of 56 different experiments."

The United Native American report estimates 42% of all Indian women in this country have been sterilized, also sterilizations have been found in Canada. In 6 different villages it was found that 1/3 of their women were sterilized without their knowledge.

Mr. Brigthman stated that "In two cases I found on the Rosebud Indian Reservation in South Dakota, women were sterilized after going into a hospital to get their appendix removed. During birth a 23 year old woman's mother was told by a doctor that if her daughter had more children she might die so her mother gave consent for the sterilization." He went on to say, "There are two basic ways to sterilize – one by tubeligation, where the tubes are cut or a hysterotomy, where all the female organs are removed."

"Last night I went to Claremore Indian Hospital and received surgical records for the last 6 months, from November of 1978 to April 26, 1979. Of 232 operations, 81 of these were sterilizations. Which means 1/3 of their operations were sterilizations and none gave the women's ages."

Thomas B. Talamini, Service Union Director of Claremore Indian Hospital denies allegations in a conversation with Mark O'Connell of FM-96 Radio.

Brigthman feels that the basic reason for this sterilization, "Is the Government wants our land and natural resources.

Approximately 1/3 of the unused coal is on Indian land and we have huge deposits of oil, gas and timber. Another reason is that in 1976 Indian Health Service was $130 million short and understaffed in physicians by 4,200. They simply can't take care of all our needs. In the U.S. there are 51 Indian hospitals, only 12 can meet current fire and safety codes and only 24 meet medical standards."

"United Native Americans plans to bring suit against Indian Health Service for $3 million, proceeds to go to Indian people who have been sterilized."

Also UNA of San Francisco has sent a letter to President Carter asking for the removal of Emory Johnson, Director of Indian Health Service, this is their second letter - the first was never even answered.

"Tribal leaders and organizations," adds Brigthman "say nothing about sterilizations because they are afraid of getting federal funds cut off."

"This is genocide," says Brigthman.

BABY DEATHS ON CANADA RESERVES "A DISGRACE"

In some parts of Northern Ontario, Manitoba and Alberta, the infant mortality figure for reserves goes as high as four or five times the national average. Nationally the figures for Indian babies dying on reserves are almost twice the rate for the general population according to federal health statistics.

Study after study has shown that the major cause of the tragedy is chronic poverty – inadequate housing and overcrowding, polluted drinking water and crude or non–existent waste and garbage disposal methods. More than 70 per cent of Indian homes have no running water and over 80 per cent have outdoor pit toilets. Unemployment rates run as high as 90 per cent on some reserves.

Malnutrition also plays a significant role. Indian mothers are being forced to shift away from the Native diet due to industrial poisons such as mercury which are showing up in increasing concentrations in the fish on which people have always depended for food. This introduced Canadian poverty diet is heavy on starch and refined sugar but severely lacking in nutritional value. The damaging effects of alcohol on developing fetuses which resultes in undersized babies with mental disabilities and other congenital defects also contributes

to these alarming statistics.

With the advent of Western medicine and practices, many mothers have switched from breast to bottle feeding of their babies. This change is one of the main contributors to sickness and death among Indian babies. A study just completed among Indians in two isolated Indian communities in northern Manitoba bears this out. It was found that the fully bottle–fed infants were in hospitals with infectious diseases 10 times more days during the first year of life than were breast-fed infants. Most of them suffered from lower respiratory tract infections and gastroenteritis. Gastroenteritis occurred in only one breast-fed child.

Just as in Third World countries where Nestles has been guilty of pushing formulas instead of breast feeding, the hospitals gave the Indian mothers a gift-wrapped parcel of various baby formulas when they were discharged with their new baby. The bottle–fed babies do not receive the mothers' natural immunities which makes them more susceptible to disease. Additionally, the level of sanitation required in bottle feeding with sterilized bottles, nipples and water is often beyond the understanding of the new mothers. At a time when such appalling statistics are evident, the Canadian government is implementing a drastic cutback in funding in the area of Indian health.

US SUPREME COURT CONFIRMS BOLDT DECISION

On July 2, 1979, the United States Supreme Court in a 6 to 3 decision confirmed the now-famous "Boldt Decision" preserving the fishing rights of Indians in Washington State. The case, officially known as *United States v. Washington,* began in August of 1973 after over twenty years of legal, political and physical confrontations between the State of Washington and Indian fishermen. The man presiding over the courtroom action in the case was United States District Judge George Boldt.

At the heart of the controversy were interpretations of the language common in the treaties negotiated in 1854 and 1855 that reserved to Indians rights "of taking fish in their usual and accustomed places in common with all the citizens of the territory." The state felt it had the right to regulate any fishing off the reservations. Given the economic importance of fishing in the Pacific Northwest, the state needed the Indians as a kind of scapegoat for the rapidly declining steelhead and salmon runs brought about by years of overfishing and commercial fleets, poor logging practices which destroyed spawning grounds, and massive hydroelectric developments which have flooded many small creeks that once served as spawning grounds.

Judge Boldt issued his 203-page decision on February 12, 1974, backing Indian fishing rights. Far from solving the problem, the decision stirred up a hornet's nest of opposition that contributed greatly to the development of a nationally organized anti-Indian backlash. Subsequent modifications by Judge Boldt to his original decision to allow Indians to catch 50% of the harvestable salmon only exacerbated the State and the white fishermen.

The State appealed but Judge Boldt's decision was upheld by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals on June 4, 1975. The State decided to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. After initially refusing to review the case, the court decided on October 16, 1978 to review the decision. Indian fishermen were quite concerned by that move because of the political complexion of the Nixon court, while the white fishermen were jubilent sensing a potential victory. Indians reacted cautiously to the upcoming fishing season. Banks refused to lend money to Indians to upgrade their equipment and small fishing fleet due to the uncertainty of the Supreme Court's review. After months of tension, the Supreme Court confirmed Judge Boldt's decision on July 2, 1979. The decision is a major victory for Indians in Washington State. The only substantive modification of the court to the Boldt decision called for subsistence and ceremonial fishing to be included in their 50% allocation.

Predictably the white fishermen were angry with the decision. The state apparently is resigned now to implementing the decision without further delay. Washington's two senators, Magnuson and Jackson, intend to pursue the matter in Congress by modifying the treaties. As it now stands, there doesn't appear to be a lot of support for their position. However, several of the tribes have banded together to loby and to educate Congress to insure the voice of the Indian fisherman is heard in any Congressional debate on treaty modification.

The Seminoles

"INJUNCTION AGAINST INTERIOR'S AWARD DISTRIBUTION PLAN"

The traditional Seminoles have been going to court in an effort to avoid the harm which would result from the payment of an Indian Claims Commission award. The Indian Claims Commission entered a judgment against the U.S. based upon the claim by a group of unauthorized Seminoles that all of their lands had been taken. The traditional Seminoles never authorized such a claim, and never approved such a claim. They have been trying since the early 1950s to have the claim dismissed since they intend to assert whatever land rights they may have and they don't want to be compensated in money for any alleged loss of land.

As a result, they have entered litigation against the Indian Claims Commission to try to overturn the actions of that Commission. That litigation is pending in the U.S. Court of Appeals. Meanwhile, the Secretary of the Interior began taking steps to pay out the money which was awarded in the Indian Claims Commission Court to the Seminoles. The process by which this money is paid out is governed strictly by the Federal Distribution of Funds Act. That act is a comprehensive statute regulating the procedure for paying out awards that are made by the Indian Claims Commission to Indians. It specifies that the Secretary of the Interior is responsible for developing a plan for distributing the money. In the preparation of that plan, the Secretary is obliged to hold hearings to receive the concerns and opinions of the affected Indian people, and he is also obliged to take a number of other steps to satisfy the terms of the statute.

The Secretary is also obliged to submit the distribution plan within 180 days of the date of the appropriation of the money specified in the judgment. If it is not possible to do that within 180 days, the Secretary may request an additional 90 days for submission of the plan. If the plan is submitted to both houses of Congress, it automatically becomes effective unless one house of Congress passes a disapproving resolution.

In the Seminole case, the Secretary did not prepare an administrative plan until after bills had already been introduced in Congress.

If the Secretary is not able to submit a plan within the required period of time (the 180 days plus 90 days if needed), then the statute specified that the Secretary is to submit proposed legislation to Congress so that Congress can pass a special act providing for the distribution of the money. In the Seminole case, the Dept. of the Interior did neither thing. They did not prepare the plan within the time required, and they didn't submit a bill.

But the Seminole Tribe of Florida did submit a bill to Congress for that purpose, and so also did the Seminoles of Oklahoma. Naturally these were competing bills. The Oklahoma Seminoles were asking for 75% of the award, compared to 25% for those in Florida. The Florida Seminoles were asking for a procedure to be set up for determining the division of the award.

In March, 1978, the Senate Select Committee on Interior Affairs held hearings on those bills pertaining to the distribution of the award. The Department of the Interior favored the bill submitted by the Oklahoma Seminoles, and they testified in favor of that bill. Guy Osceola, representative of the Traditional Seminoles, also testified at those hearings, and he further submitted a proposed amendment to both bills. The proposed amendment would have expressly protected the Seminoles' land rights not withstanding the payment of the claims award. Osceola's amendment would have permitted the money to be paid out without that payment having any effect on Seminole land rights.

Following the hearing, the Traditional Seminoles submitted a lengthy documentary report which described the abuses of the Indian Claims Commission vis–a–vis the Seminoles, and which also described the surviving Seminole landrights. Observers note that Osceola's presentation received an open–minded hearing from the Committee, and it began to appear that Congress might take an interest in the abuses of the Indian Claims Commission and the complaints that Osceola was raising about the whole process.

In April of 1978, the Interior Department, without any forewarning, submitted an administrative plan, purporting to act under the distribution of Judgments Funds Act. The plan was submitted some 459 days after the appropriation (against a 180 day deadline.) In the words of one of the attorneys for the case, "it wasn't even close." Neither house of Congress passed a disapproving resolution. In fact, the entire legislative process was simply aborted as a result of the submission of this plan. It wasn't possible for any of the Traditional Seminoles to loby Congress in this matter because of the shortness of time and the expenses involved in such a lobying effort.

In June, the Traditional Seminoles filed suit against the Department of the Interior to have the payment plan invalidated. The Seminole Tribe of Florida (one of the IRA governments there) also filed suit essentially on the same grounds but stating also that the proposed division of the money was unjust and improper. The Traditional Seminole's lawsuit argues that the plan was invalid because it was too late.

The two lawsuits were consolidated. Intervening in the lawsuit were the Seminole Freedmen from Oklahoma. The Seminole Freedmen are the Black Seminoles who were removed to Oklahoma from Florida. The Federal government always regarded them as slaves, although they were not so regarded by the Seminoles, at least not in Florida. But since the removal took place prior to the Civil War, the federal government regarded them as property of the Seminoles (the non–Black Seminoles). In Florida there is a scholarship showing that the Black Seminoles were acting as full members of the Seminole Nation. They had two or three independent villages out of a total of more than thirty Seminole villages which were autonomous or semi–autonomous.

The Black Seminoles fought in the Civil War. They were in all major respects part of the Seminole Nation. After they reached Oklahoma, they were generally regarded as the property of the other Seminoles, and after the Civil War (in which the Oklahoma Seminoles were formally allied with the Confederate States,) the United States made a new treaty with the Seminoles of Oklahoma. The new treaty specifically provided that the Oklahoma Freedmen were to be regarded as full members of the Seminole Nation and entitled to participate in the Nation's affairs and share in the Nation's property in all respects whatsoever. (There are yet today Black Seminole communities in Mexico and Texas where they went to escape the U.S. They have remnants of their Seminole language and culture, although they are principally Spanish–speaking today.)

The Seminole Freedmen intervened in the lawsuit because the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in its payment plan, had specified that they were not to share in the awards at all on the sole grounds that they were Black and that therefore they would not have been regarded as able to own property prior to the Emancipation Proclamation! Therefore, by BIA thinking, they were not entitled to share in the "award." That view was proposed by the BIA despite the treaty, the Fourteenth Amendment, and the history which clearly indicates that they were in all respects part of the Seminole Nation and that they lost their property and suffered in every way just as every other Seminole did. Nevertheless, the BIA saw fit to flatly deny that they were entitled to share in the award on the sole grounds – they didn't explain it, and didn't offer any other justification – than that they were Black. The Freedmen intervened in the lawsuit, but, in one of those remarkable events, they were permitted to intervene and participate in the oral argument of the case, but the Interior Department never responded to any of their briefs, and never responded to any argument that they made, and never once acknowledged that they were even participating on the case (other than serving papers on them.) Interior never once mentioned their existence, or made the slightest mention of the arguments made by the Seminole Freedmen, and neither did the judge! The judge heard them argue, and he didn't ask them any questions. The federal government never responded to those arguments and neither did the judge and they were never mentioned at any stage of the proceedings, including the opinion. It was just as though they weren't there, they didn't exist.

"...IT IS OUR FIRM BELIEF THAT A LINE MUST BE DRAWN BETWEEN ACCORDING ADMINISTRATIVE INTERPRETATIONS DEFERENCE, AND THE PROPOSITION THAT ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES ARE ENTITLED TO VIOLATE THE LAW IF THEY DO IT OFTEN ENOUGH."

They are, however, on the papers. They were heard. People saw them at the proceedings. They were there.

The government argued that the time limit on the statute wasn't mandatory, even though the statute says "shall submit the plan within 180 days." They argued that this means, "may submit..." The government also argued that they had the authority to divide up the money between two different groups without complying with the provisions of the Act. They claimed that concerning the division of moneys between the Seminoles of Oklahoma and Florida, they didn't have to hold hearings on that and they didn't need to follow the procedures set down in the Act. They said that the Secretary of the Interior or the Bureau of Indian Affairs could make that determination on its own without any reference to the statute. The Seminole Tribe of Florida argues against that position, stating that the statute doesn't permit that because that would permit the Secretary to apportion all of the money to one entity and none to the other without according any degree of due process at all.

The government admitted in oral argument that they had never once met that time deadline. Not one single plan has ever been submitted within the required time. (Forty–nine plans have been submitted to Congress under the Act.)

The court issued a decision which stated that the plan was declared null and void and the Secretary of the Interior was enjoined from implementing the plan in any manner. The judgment said, in part: "...but, as the plaintiffs correctly point out, there is no legal authority for the position that past violations of a statute make present violations lawful. Indeed in *Wilderness Society v. Morton*, the Court of Appeals for this Circuit

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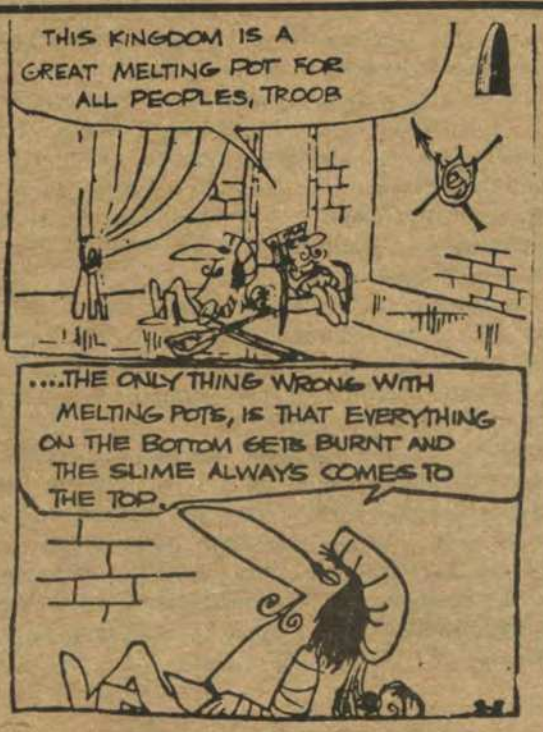
declared that "...it is our firm belief that a line must be drawn between according administrative interpretations deference, and the proposition that administrative agencies are entitled to violate the law if they do it often enough."

The court based its decision on the determination that the time limit was mandatory and that having failed to meet the time limit, the Secretary had no authority to submit a plan and that the plan the Secretary did submit was null and void. That means that the alternatives left are for the Secretary of Interior to submit new legislation to Congress authorizing payment of the money, or to appeal the decision, a process which would take years.

In order to distribute the Seminole judgment funds, there must be an Act of Congress passed. At this point, as far as we know, there has been no bill introduced. There will probably be competing bills introduced by the Seminoles of Florida and Oklahoma (the IRA governments), there will be hearings, and eventually a bill will be passed, probably next year. The Traditional Seminoles will probably be testifying before Congress in an effort to bring to the fore the problems that have infected the case from the beginning -- the original fraud, the act of bringing the claim in the name of the Seminoles of Florida, and the continuing failure of the Indian Claims Commission to deal fairly with those who are protesting the bringing of the claims.

The entire proceeding can be described as a case of striking simplicity. The law requires - commands - the Interior Department to do a particular thing within a particular time. Interior Department did something else entirely, deliberately, and not within the directive of the statute. In court, Interior argued that the statute simply doesn't mean what it says, that they are not bound by the clear terms of the statute. The District Court found otherwise. But the fact of the continuous lawlessness by the Interior Department – as regards Indians – make it an important decision because it produced a District Court injunction compelling the Interior Department to obey the law. That doesn't happen very frequently. Each time the Interior Department is required by injunction to obey the law, it may correct *some* of the lawlessness.


THIS KINGDOM IS A GREAT MELTING POT FOR ALL PEOPLES, TROOB
....THE ONLY THING WRONG WITH MELTING POTS, IS THAT EVERYTHING ON THE BOTTOM GETS BURNT AND THE SLIME ALWAYS COMES TO THE TOP.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PEOPLE AND THE LAND

by Jimmie C. Begay

A Paper Prepared
for The Institute for Indian Studies Spring Conference,
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The University of South Dakota Vermillion, South Dakota

Between traditional Navajo people and the forces of nature, reciprocity is not just "evident," but it is the core of Navajo religion itself.

We emerged from within the Earth, and were borne by the Earth to life on the surface. We came to this world - our Fourth World - through a reed. We climbed through the reed to the world we know today to escape a huge flood that destroyed our Third World.

Our religion says that our First World was mist. All of us, animals and people both, were without form, swirling in the mist of the Universe. But even at that early time, the insect people had already learned how to work together for the common good.

Slowly, through time, the Earth formed us through the Second and Third Worlds, and gave us the bodies we have today.

As we climbed into each successive world, we became more individualized. Man became distinct from other animals. Man learned from the insect people how to work together in bigger groups: from the family to the clan, to the band, and finally, today, with large nation-states.

The Navajo came out of the Earth Mother, out of the womb of the Earth, onto the surface of the world to live. We came through the mists at the center of the Earth to be here.

All of us, Indian and non-Indian alike, have our origin in the Earth. We came from the Earth. When we die, we return to her, and Earth holds us in her arms again.

In discussing the relationship of humankind to the Earth, we must understand the basic difference between the Navajo view of Mother Earth, and what the Western European or contemporary American mind means when it tosses around poetic metaphors like "mother nature," or "mother earth."

The contemporary American means that the earth and all of nature is like his natural mother. But the Navajo (and other American Indians) means that his natural mother is the closest thing he will ever know that is like his real mother – The Earth.

All that happens within nature happens because of the relationship between one and the other. The Earth mates with the Sky. The Earth produces.

Our real mother is the Earth. Our natural mothers are just pale imitations of the Earth-force. Our natural fathers are insignificant compared to the force of the Sky-father that produced us.

These images will not be powerful to a people raised on Walt Disney. The popular culture of America has weakened the religious truths of our entire continent. We are not talking about chuby little clouds, or talking trees and singing bunnies. I am talking about the primary forces of energy from which we all draw life. I mean lightning, tornadoes, earthquakes, geysers, the force of glaciers, blizzards and floods! Not bunnies. Not Bambi.

Our mother IS the Earth. Not "like" the earth. Our father IS the Sky.

I stress this because unless you really understand this fundamental difference, you will never understand anything else I may talk about.

The Earth has a vibrant energy force of its own. It can get sick just like a human when parts of its body are destroyed. It sends warnings - earthquakes and floods. When people pile up in cities, a huge mass of people in one place, the Earth feels pressure, a pinch, sharp pain. These pressure points hurt and pain the Earth. We should be praying and requesting guidance. Is it the Great Spirit's plan for so many to pile into one place? Why? Is it so that they can be easily destroyed?

It is important to wake up and be aware of the force of the environment. Environment produces personalities, feelings and attitudes. In cities, people become distorted, and forget where they came from. The city environment of traffic, noise, and crowding produces crime, vandalism and depression. As people chase money, they forget the Earth. They forget where they came from. They forget they are insignificant, and believe they are powerful.

In an open environment one knows the forces of nature, and their effect. The phases of the moon become more noticable. As the moon controls tides, it also controls people and other animals. In the cities, one can forget what is causing full-moon behavior. In the open environment, the control of the moon is obvious.

The light of day, the light of night, the wind, rain, snow, rainbows - they all affect us. They talk to us and make us respond to the rhythms of life, and the cycles of the seasons. If you ignore the things they say to you, you disregard the lessons of your most powerful teachers.

Everything in the Universe, what we call *aitsoni naha'nanigii,* or "all created things," comes from the mating of Earth and Sky, and the creatures on it and the forces in it.

Therefore, all living things have both sides within them - the male Sky, and the female Earth.

All things. All things are male and female.

In school we learn that the earth is "inorganic," or "not living." That is simply not true. Each mountain, each earth feature has an inner form — something that gives it life. Something that makes it able to perceive and to feel. It has its own consciousness, and it receives sense impressions from us.

On the Earth are sacred places. There are male and female mountains. Each has its own force, its own kind of power. The female mountain has female herbs and

CONT'd
THE RELATIONSHIP

animals on it. These "organic" things have a relationship with the land, climate and sky - with Father Sky.

The male mountains have an opposite character. The animals are stronger, bigger. The plants are taller. There is more rain, more snow. There is a magnetic attraction each mountain has with the animals and the plants on it. The animals rarely cross over.

Each animal, each plant has a place in the Universe. And every living thing needs both the female and male aspects to work together, to create growth. The human is a special creation placed on Earth to do certain things. Each person has his own pratice in our religion - male or female. Everyone has some power, some knowledge, some wisdom. The Earth and Sky are teachers for everyone.

In humans, 50 per cent of us is the female force, and 50 per cent is the male force. It is important to keep these things in balance. If the female side, or the male side takes over completely, then you are out of balance, and you need a ceremony to be done for you to put you back in harmony with the Universe.

I understand that scientists and psychologists are now working on what they call "right brain or left brain dominance." They have discovered that the right side of the brain controls the left side of the body, and that the left brain controls the right side of each human being. They have discovered through scientific experiments that contemporary American children have not developed the right brain to the same degree as Indian children. They find in contemporary Americans, a "left-brain dominance" - what we Navajos would call an unbalance toward the male power. The female side of the contemporary American brain is not developed, and rarely used. That means that all of contemporary American society is out of balance with nature, using only half of the power that was given to them by the Great Spirit.

It is no wonder that the world is distorted.

Both male and female are in all of us, and the power of each side is there to be used by us in balance and in harmony with the Universe.

The femaleness and maleness in all of us is a commonsense observation. To stay in harmony is the goal. The female needs the male for production. The Earth needs the Sky for production. If you use only one side of the power given to you, you will never acheive the full production of your Self, or your own human power. To stay in harmony you must pray to the sides of yourself, to connect the Earth and Sky in you to produce growth.

In humans, growth takes place in the home. For a Navajo, home is the hogan.

The hogan itself is a sacred place. It is a shrine, a temple, where sacred things happen. The hogan bestows sacredness on daily life. The hogan is where the healing ceremonies take place, and the sacredness of the ceremonies fills the home and the family.

There is a singular relationship between the hogan and the Earth itself. As the Earth and Sky shelter the environment of all living things, inside the hogan human growth and thought are sheltered. All natural growth is the result of the interaction, the magnetism, between Earth and Sky. The hogan simulates the universal shelter of Earth and Sky to provide individual shelters for people.

The hogan environment shapes the character and mind of the family as growth takes place within it.

Before the hogan is used by the family, it is blessed. After the blessing, the hogan has its own strength to shelter the family and to insure health and growth. A lot of strong feeling is present during and after the blessing - lots of "positive energy" as the young Anglos say.

When the hogan is blessed, it is blessed to the four directions, and each compass point of the hogan has its own significance regarding the family's growth.

The door of the hogan faces East because birth takes place in the East every day. As the sun rises, it produces light. The hogan's open door lets the light rays enter because these rays have their own power. These powerful early-morning rays hit the western wall of the hogan, where lies Life.

East is light and birth, and contains the process of thought.

South is the planning section of the hogan.

Everything, every thought and plan within the hogan, is done for Life - the West. In the North lies faith and confidence. Here you receive the strength to accomplish the goals you set for yourself. The North of the hogan brings strong faith no matter whether you are a traditional Native American, or believe some other religion.

Each direction, each power, has its own color, and all colors also come from the Earth. The rainbow, linking Earth and Sky is imagination and inspiration. The power of each direction is centered in each of four mountains.

The mountain of the East is Blanca Peak, in Alamosa Colorado. The mountain's power is birth and thought. The color is white. The sacred stone is white shell. It is called *Sis Naajini.*

The mountain of the South is Mount Taylor, near Grants, N.M. Its color is blue, its stone is turquoise and its power is the planning power. It is called *Tsoodzil.*

The mountain of the West is the San Francisco Peaks, near Flagstaff. The color is gold. The stone is abalone. The power is Life power. The mountain is called *Dook'o'ooslíid.*

The mountain of the north is Hesperus Peak, near Durango, Colorado. It is the mountain of faith and confidence. The color is black. The sacred stone is jet. The mountain is called *Dibe Nitsaa,* or Obsidian mountain.

All of these mountains are sacred mountains to the Navajo. The *Ye ii,* whose body encircles and protects the Navajo people, starts at the foot of Mount Taylor, and curves all the way around the outside of the four sacred mountains, with his head at Blanca Peak.

All Navajos are supposed to make their homes within these four mountains. It is said that when we move from within them, the Navajo as a people will cease to exist.

All of Navajo religion belongs to the space within the four sacred mountains. All of these traditions have their source in the land that is home to us. Within the four sacred mountains, all life, whether it is human life or animal life or plant life, comes from the Earth and returns to the Earth.

All structures come from Earth. Pipe and steel come from Earth. Electricity has been reinvented by man. The Thunder People brought light and electricity to this Earth.

Modern technology is moving us rapidly toward a different kind of life. But as our technology grows, we forget where it all came from. It all came from the Earth and from the Sky. We are not using the maleness and femaleness in us to understand what we are doing. We are becoming over-progressed and over-mechanized...removed from both the Earth and Sky. We are using all of the Earth's power without thought. We are pumping power out of the Earth - the oil, the gas, the water. It's like taking blood from a human being. You take too much, it can't survive. It gets weak.

When you take something from the Earth, or from nature, you must give something back. It is important that the relationship between you remain equal. What you return to the Earth can be something as simple (or as complicated) as respect.

Navajos do not have a "Tribal relationship to the land." We each have a personal relationship with the Earth - and all of its manifestations. This personal relationship with Earth is a reciprocal one. We take from all of the elements: Earth, Air, Fire, Water, whatever each one has to give us. In return, we offer thanks and respect.

When a Navajo uses something from the Earth, we offer prays explaining why we need this thing, so that Earth can reproduce the things we need. We offer medicine to cure any damage we may cause in our ignorance.

These prayers will be different according to the local land, and the energy force we approach. We pray that we may make the right decisions about using the land. We do not expect quick decisions, but ask the Earth to help us make the right decisions - decisions that will benefit posterity.

The world's search for oil, coal and uranium has caused great damage, but that damage can still be healed, if society wants to heal it. During mining and drilling, plants are destroyed, so it would be right to offer the Earth seeds, and seedlings to replace what we remove. There has to be an awareness that we cannot always take, but must give in return. And we must give in proportion to what we remove from our Mother, The Earth.

The relationship of man to the land is a working relationship - a reciprocal relationship. We can talk to the land, and it can talk to us. We can tell it our needs, *and it will tell us what to do - if we listen. If we* understand the language, we can talk to the animals and to the land.

We talk to them through prayers, through awareness. Each animal, each landscape has its own prayers. The medicine man teaches them to the growing child spontaneously, when it is the proper time.

One day comes to each person when he feels he is stronger, and ready for something. That's how the Great Spirit works, providing the wisdom and knowledge people need at just the right time.

We have said that everything on Earth has its own soul, its own spirit, and its own power. Some plants, for instance, are used to control snakes, and it is possible to use these plants to drive snakes from your home. But understanding the powers of the Earth requires a special awareness and sensitivity.

The Navajo medicine man is one of the most aware and sensitive people in the community. He knows the powers of Earth and of the creatures and things on it. As these people are the most sensitive and aware among us, they are also our advisors, our priests, our counselors and our teachers. Some medicine men specialize in one or another of the various ceremonies. Others will only do sandpaintings. The intricate patterns of the sand paintings are the paths of Navajo religion.

Each of the major curing ceremonies has its own sandpainting or sandpaintings. Because the Earth gives life, it also has power to heal.

The sandpaintings are very vivid, and all of their brightness and color comes from the Earth. People say the earth is dirty. But we know it is beautiful. We use sand, earth and "dirt" of many colors to create healing art. The Earth has life. It is alive. The many colors of the Earth contain the power of the Earth. Blessings and prayers are offered during a ceremony as the Earth's power to heal is drawn upon. Suppose we omitted a sandpainting during a ceremony, and only did the prayers. The person might get well, but he would get sick again because he would not have used the Earth's healing power.

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INDIAN DEVELOPMENT IN CORPORATE HANDS

by Tom Barry

The Navajo Indian Irrigation Project

The largest Indian economic development project is now safe in corporate hands. So say the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the attorneys for the Navajo Tribe.

Ball Agricultural Systems, a farm development subsidiary of Ball Corporation, recently took over the reins of the Navajo Agricultural Products Industry (NAPI), thus completing the turn of the 110,000 acre farm project from a proposed complex of Navajo family farms to corporate agribusiness.

The Navajo Indian Irrigation Project (NIIP) was authorized by Congress in 1962 as partial fulfillment of the Treaty of 1868, which guaranteed all interested Navajo families 160 acre farms. The BIA predicted that this federally-funded project would make the desert bloom and reverse the downward spin of unemployment and poverty on the nation's most populous and expansive reservation.

Funds for the Navajo irrigation project came as part of a water bill divvying up the San Juan River, New Mexico's largest river. The Navajo Tribe got the irrigation project in exchange for yielding water rights to the San Juan Diversion Project that would channel much of the flow of the San Juan across the mountains to water the booming city of Albuquerque.

Reflecting national priorities, Albuquerque received its San Juan water by 1970, and it wasn't until 1976 that irrigation water began flowing onto Navajo land.

By the time the long-awaited irrigation water finally reached the reservation, the original intention of NIIP to help create family farms for the Navajos in northwestern New Mexico had been radically revised. The river water, instead, would be used to turn the dusty plateau land into one of the ten biggest corporate farms in the nation.

Waiting for Water

Navajos in New Mexico have been waiting for over a hundred years for the federal government to fulfill its promises of using the San Juan to irrigate the dry Navajo land. In the 1960's, seeing that much of the area's water was being allocated to the energy companies and the thirsty non-Indian cities bordering the reservation, the Navajo Tribe stepped up its pressure to have the irrigation project established before the river went dry.

From the beginning, the irrigation project was designed to set up small farms.

In 1956, the BIA wrote in a letter to the New Mexico governor that the purpose of the proposed project was "to gain the confidence of the Navajo people by making the promises of the Treaty of 1868 a reality." The BIA also noted that "the distressing poverty which prevails among the Navajo people is primarily the result of the lack of balance between the increasing population and the resources on which they depend for support. The project would provide a total of about 1400 farms."

Congressional discussion of the project affirmed this concept of individual farms. Senator Joseph Montoya from New Mexico told his fellow senators: "The project can go a long way toward making the Navajo people self-sustaining and provide them with self-respect engendered through productivity brought about by their own tilling and work on their farms."

Former Tribal Chairperson Paul Jones told the Senate Subcommittee on Irrigation that a BIA program to relocate Navajo families off-reservation had been a complete failure. He advocated a different approach to Navajo economic development: "Most of us do not want to leave our homes. The solution we want for our economic problems is the same solution you want when depression strikes your constituencies. We want more opportunities to earn a living in our own country."

In 1970, an abrupt change occurred in the conception and planning of the irrigation project. In a report commissioned by the BIA, agricultural planners from New Mexico State University (NMSU) advised the federal government and the tribe that a corporate farm managed by a tribal enterprise would be more profitable than a collection of small farms. The university study recommended that the tribe invest $50 million in the project for $16 million annual profits.

Won over by such rosy projections, the tribal council in 1970 formed the Navajo Agricultural Products Industry (NAPI) to manage NIIP. Chairperson Peter MacDonald appointed to the board executives from selected Southwestern agribusinesses and several tribal leaders.

Managerial corruption and bungling has plagued NAPI, driving the project $9 million in debt by 1979. After reviewing NAPI's financial records, an accounting firm reported that NAPI would be bankrupt if it were a private company. Aside from its financial woes, NAPI has also come under federal grand jury investigation concerning charges of theft, fraud, and conflict of interest among both its non-Navajo and Navajo employees. Directors have been found to have bought equipment and fertilizer from firms they are closely associated with, and the former tribal vice-chairperson has been suspected of using the project for his own personal gain.

Last summer, MacDonald disbanded the NAPI board, appointing an interim managing board with Art Allison, a Navajo, as Acting General Manager. At the time of his appointment, Allison said "the project may have sunk so deep in debt that there may be no way to bring it back." The interim board concluded that the project would have to shut down unless it could come up with $7.5 million in loan money.

Optimism about creating an oasis in the New Mexico desert had been dashed in the less than three years of NAPI's actual operation. Instead, the irrigation project seemed to be a classic federal boondoggle, with many millions of government dollars being squandered on an Indian tribe that didn't have the necessary skills to manage such a large enterprise.

The BIA, which had initially promised to guarantee a bank loan for the floundering project, suddenly withdrew its offer, saying that no additional BIA funds or loan guarantees would be available until the tribe hired an independent agricultural firm to operate the farm project free of tribal influence.

Assistant Secretary of Indian Affairs Forrest Gerard notified Peter MacDonald that the BIA would not guarantee a loan until the tribe entered into "an arms-length management contract" with a qualified firm.

At a Washington, DC meeting in May 1979, the BIA and the tribe selected Ball Agricultural Systems to operate NAPI. Tribal attorney George Vlassis supervised the negotiations which resulted in a five year renewable contract giving Ball 20% of the profits and paying all of its administrative and personnel costs. Ball officials said it would need $10 to $12 million to get the faltering NAPI on its feet.

Ball Agricultural Systems is a development and consulting firm that has little actual farming experience. According to Al Keller, the BIA representative overseeing the project, the primary advantage of Ball over the old NAPI board is the simple fact that Ball is a corporation. "They are a company, and as a company they have the capacity of attracting the kind of people to get the job done," he said.

Ray Hill of Ball explains that while the company has had no experience with Indian tribes it does have a history of working in developing countries. The company is currently setting up corporate farms in Saudi Arabia, Libya, Mexico, and South America. "The problems we see in these undeveloped countries are not dissimilar from the ones the company will face on the Navajo reservation," says Hill.

Bureaucratic Blunder

The BIA blamed the tribe's misdirection of NAPI for many of the problems of the irrigation project. Other critics of NAPI attribute the mistakes of NAPI to the lack of Navajo participation; rather than an arms–length relationship, Navajos should be at the center of the project.

In 1972, Harris Arthur, director of the Shiprock Research Center, warned the irrigation project was destined to be yet another "bureaucratic blunder" unless the opinions and desires of local Navajos had a place in the project. A survey made by Arthur, himself a Navajo, of those living in the vicinity of the planned project revealed that virtually all of the residents "desired individual farms for themselves and their children."

Arthur advised that unless the irrigation project returned to its original purpose of assisting impoverished Navajo families, it would be doomed " to the same wasteful spending and failure as other government projects that failed to consider the local Navajo people."

The Navajo researcher, who now works for the Department of Interior, objected that the irrigation project's dominant purpose -- giving means of subsistance to Navajo families by meeting Treaty obligations -- had been converted into a massive corporate farm plan beyong the control of Navajos themselves. Arthur charged that no public discussion accompanied the sudden change in plans. The hundreds of Navajos living in the project area were never informed that the tribe was considering discarding the plan for family farms.

"When the project was justified in Congress, there was no mention of this agribusiness concept," said Arthur in an interview. "Now, with the corporate approach, there will be no participation of Navajos in their own project. The profits will go to huge corporations like Del Monte or into the tribal treasury."

Another critique appeared in a 1973 article in *New Mexico Business* by economist Phil Reno and Navajo agricultural expert Baye Billy. The authors wrote that a corporate farm was beyond the current technical capability of the Navajo people, whereas small family farming better suited the Navajo Nation's level of economic and education development.

The article cited evidence from Latin American underdeveloped countries that family farms were more efficient than large-scale farms.

"The vital requirements for farm productivity are incentive and opportunity," they state. "Family farms provide broadly–based incentive, and as a rule, state farms and corporate farms do not." They suggested a combination of private family farms with a tribal enterprise to help with the marketing and distribution.

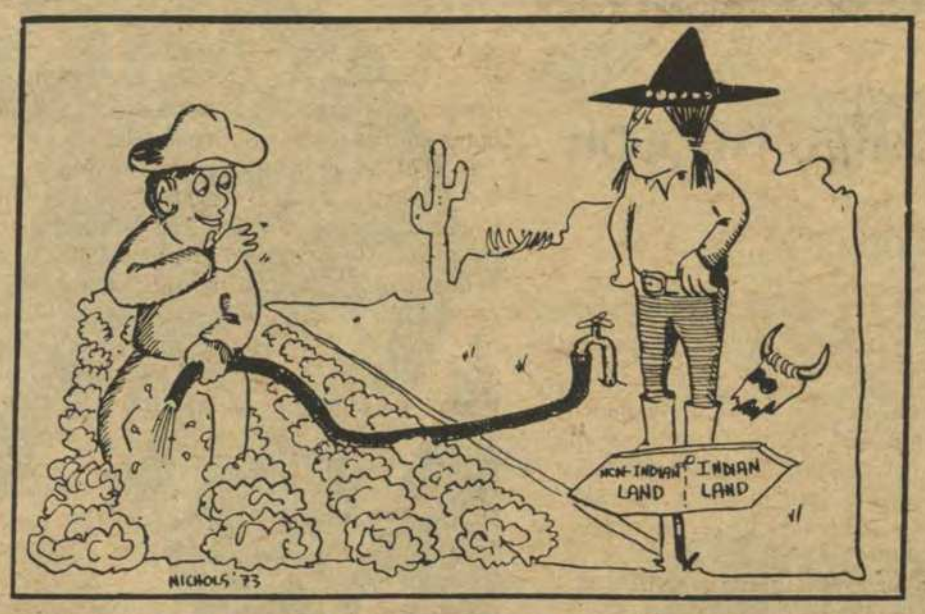
Commenting on the 1976 Environmental Impact Statement for the irrigation project, the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) in Albuquerque said that "to reduce the high incidence of hunger and malnutrition on the reservation, NIIP should grow basic food crops to feed the Navajo people...Instead of growing cash crops for export and maximizing profits for outside agribusiness interests, the goals of NIIP should be to enable the Navajo Nation to feed itself and to promote increased consciousness of rural self–sufficiency and self–reliance among Navajo people."

NIYC advocated that "NIIP be restructured along the lines of a tribally–sponsored project comprised of small family farms...While individual families can grow crops, the marketing and distribution may be done on a cooperative basis."

Critics of the farm project agree that yet another problem with the university– designed corporate farm is its creation of a migrant, low–paid Navajo agricultural workforce. When fully developed, the farm will create full–time employment for about 700 workers and seasonal employment for about 1500 Navajos. The minimum wages offered these farm workers does little to alter the Navajo Nation's underdeveloped economy. Because of the low pay scales and the temporary nature of the farm work, Navajos prefer working at the nearby power plants and coal strip mines.

"The land that once supported these people will no longer do so. Under these conditions, economic and cultural transformations are inevitable, and this irrigation project is one of those transformations."

Approximately 165 families have already been relocated from the first three blocks of the farm development. Forty additional families face relocation in the next two years as the next 10,000 acre sections are developed. Many of these Navajo families had voted in favor of the project because it would bring water to their scorched land.



This corporate plan, which Ball now has the task of implementing, contrasts with earlier projects that as many as 15,000 Navajos would be working in the small, labor–intensive farm units. The family farm plan may have had the additional virtue of helping to retain the Navajo rural culture and preventing much of the social disruption caused by relocation and transfer of Navajo residents to a wage–labor society.

New York May Expand Here

Initially promised they would receive water and assistance setting up farms, the Navajos who live in the project area have been told by the BIA and the tribe that they have to move to make way for the development.

In their 1976 environmental impact statement, the BIA coolly assessed the impact on the several hundred families facing relocation. The BIA stated:

"There will be some disbandment of the extended families. When these families are relocated, they must adjust to the new community and seek a place in the new social structure. As they find employment in the agribusiness complex, it will mean learning new skills and dependence on a means of livelihood that may not enhance their status in a socio–economic system based on Anglo values."

"They promised us good things then," remembers George Yazzie of the Huerfano Chapter Land Board. This Navajo rancher says the people of his community have seen the unhappy results of the relocation of the other Navajo families. The removal had disrupted their whole way of living, he said. No longer could the families graze their sheep or depend on the assistance and companionship of their neighbors.

Ida John, a Navajo elder from Huerfano, has said she may go to the courts to stop the project from taking over her lands. "They will have to drag me off the land," she asserted. "They put dollars in front of us hoping we will move. But we don't want dollars; we want our land and our sheep."

Another concern of the grassroots Navajos is that outsiders will gain control of Navajo land through control of NAPI. "I worry that New York will start expanding out here," said Pauline McCauley. "The tribe is getting in debt with the New York banks. If the project defaults, the New York firms may take hold of the reservation."

Increased Mechanization and Centralization

In order to insure profits, there has been a move in the past year to increase the mechanization and centralization of the farm project Ball Agricultural Systems, predicts the BIA's Al Keller, will continue this trend by establishing a feedlot of 15,000 head of cattle within the near future. A BIA loan guarantee will be available to facilitate these plans. Keller says there are *currently no plans to integrate family farms into the* development –– an approach that he said would only complicate the management problems that have characterized NAPI.

With Ball now in control, the BIA is much more optimistic about the future of NAPI.

Water has finally come to the Navajos of northwestern New Mexico, but there is still little hope for improving the conditions of their lives. Like the giant Four Corners Power Plant and the Navajo Mine nearby, the farm operation has forced many Navajo residents to move from their cherished land. Both types of economic development –– industry and farm –– are highly technological and centralized corporate creations beyond their control. They have been relegated to the role of unskilled laborer in either case.

Now that the multi–national Ball Corporation has assumed control of the Indian enterprise, the BIA and Peter MacDonald are expressing their confidence that NAPI will stop losing money and start turning a profit. Both the energy industry and the managers of the irrigation project explain that the profits from development go to the tribal capital in Window Rock where they are distributed to improve the lot of all the Navajo people.

There's a difference though in turning a profit and developing a nation. Residents of this resource–rich part of the vast reservation have repeatedly complained they have yet to see evidence of this tribal income.

Because of all the relocations and the tribe's willingness to accede to corporate plans for economic development, the Window Rock administration has received much of the blame for the continued underdevelopment and exploitation of the reservation.

"The main culprit in the irrigation project is not the Navajo Tribe," warns John Redhouse of the American Indian Environmental Council and a longtime critic of the project. "The tribe is being influenced, controlled, and manipulated by outside agribusiness interests. Navajos should know who the real enemy is –– it's outside forces."

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For each dollar you send we'll send a sample copy and information sheet.

IROQUOIS SILVER

ROPEWIRE BRACELET

This ropewire bracelet is made from sterling silver and is adjustable to fit virtually any adult. $20.00.

SILVER ARROWHEAD PENDANT

This is a handcrafted sterling silver arrowhead pendant that comes with an 18" silver chain. $14.50.

PEACE PENDANT

Sterling silver pendant inlaid with jet. Explanation of symbols accompanies each pendant. 5/8:: by 1½", with 18" silver chain. $30.00

NOTE TO CUSTOMERS: Because of the continuous fluctuation in silver prices, these prices will be in effect only until November 15, 1979. We will try our best to keep the prices of Indian jewelry down, but the price of silver has skyrocketed.

VOICES FROM THE EARTH –

another form of com~ unicating from AKWESASNE NOTES

WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

THE TRAVELLING GROUP & SPEAKER'S BUREAU

VOICES FROM THE EARTH is a verbal and multi-media form of communication. The concept of VOICES is to be an extension of the newspaper – of going out and making personal contact with the people inhabiting Turtle Island, and transmitting the messages of the Native People of this land.

Since our beginning (as the White Roots of Peacs) we have logged over 400,000 miles and met thousands of people. We visit universities, colleges, prisons, and communities, speaking to both Native and non-Native Peoples.

We are beginning the planning for our Fall 1978 trip. We will be focusing on the East – Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Washington D.C., and North CArolina, but we are open to possible visits in other nearby states. We need persons or organizations willing to organize a visit by our group. During such a visit we have people available to present lectures to classes or conduct workshops and seminars. We carry films and slide shows for viewing, and we have a crafts and books display. The close of a visit is with an Iroquois-style sSocial Dance for audience participation.

From the Speaker's Bureau we have NOTES staff personel,-as well as such persons as Tom Porter and Jake Swamp (from the Mohawk Nation,) Dan Bomberry, Executive Director of T.S.P., Bruce Elija from the Oneida Nation, Artley Skenandore Jr., from the Oneidas of Wisconsin (and active in AIM,) as well as other persons we can draw on for special sessions or topics.

For more information regarding honoraria, scheduling, or other information, contact: Mike Myers – Voices From the Earth, P.O. Box 103, Owl's Head, New York 12969 or call (518) 483-2540.

SPECIAL SALE

OUR PUBS

- ***A MESSAGE TO ALL PEOPLE: HOPI***
- ***TURTLE, BEAR & WOLF***
- ***NATIVE COLOURS***
- ***CHIMBORAZO***
- ***B.I.A., I'M NOT YOUR INDIAN ANYMORE***
- ***SIX NATIONS MUSEUM SERIES***
- ***THE GREAT LAW***

ALL FOR: $8.00

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SETS OF MATERIALS ON LATIN AMERICA

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FRESH FROM THE PRINTER'S & BACK ON OUR SHELVES

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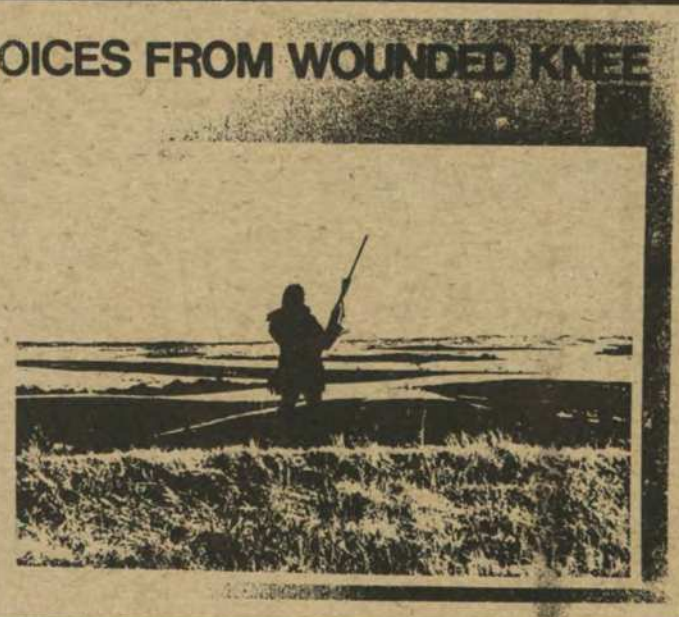

POETRY

STORIES

No legends were told
from the Strawberry Moon
until the Moon of Falling Leaves.
The Little People, the Djo-geh-oh,
watched and listened and it was said
that anyone who broke this rule
would soon be visited by snakes.

For if the animals should hear
human beings boast in their stories
of the game they caught,
those animals might leave forever
the places where humans walk.

Or, listening to the tales of wonder,
they might forget their place in nature
and wander through the forests
dazed and lost in the mystery of words.

Even the crops and the trees might listen
and grow lazy, the birds forget
to fly south, the Bears
forget to prepare for their winter sleep.

As everyone knows,
when good stories are told,
the whole world stops work and listens.

/ For Arthur Parker

..Joseph Bruchac..

FEATHERS

Everything that lives
wants to fly,
a Mohawk friend
said to me
one winter afternoon
as we watched
grossbeaks take seeds,
fluttering close
to our eyes.

Those were
dinosaurs once,
he said,
but they
made a bargain.
They gave up
that power
in return for
the Sky.

Joseph Bruchac

SOLUTIONS

There are solutions to our problems,
They are simple, possible and right.
Come, join with women, children, and elderly
As we light the sacred pipe.

A welfare check is not the answer,
Nor is daycare or Head Start,
Nor is the home for the aged,
Nor the city lights.
Take our homes back to Mother Earth,
Take our future out of the bars,
Provide us with tools and with seed,
So we can develop the land.

If you follow this path of wisdom
It will take courage, strength, and prayer.
The Great Spirit will guide you, and
Lead the People from despair.
As we nestle in our warm lodges,
And develop the land only for our needs,
The lights, heat and water will go out in cities
You will hear the cries and the pleads.

Heed the warnings before you
The signs are loud and clear,
They are written in statistics,
Of dying, decay and despair.

As you ponder over our problems in Council,
Keep the picture straight.
Put the lives of our people first,
And the dollar out of sight.

A SIOUX MOTHER

RESOURCES

It
is
impossible
to
do
Nothing

The truth whispers in your ear

Soft-blowing wind

The truth
is
a
Natural Resource.

--ISMAELILLO

ACOMA

For many distant travellers
The way to Acoma is merely
Interstate-40,
A fourlane ribbon
Of asphalt
Squeezed in between wire
Fences and telephone lines,
Running like a scar
Across the flesh
Of an ancient landscape;
They almost never know
The old way south by north
Where you can fly today
From the pit
Of a uranium stripmine
To the sacred Sky City

Standing on top
White Rock Mesa,
Corn and ritual predate
The cradle of history there
Like a breathing shrine,
And the way to Acoma for many
Is only curiosity,
Or a refreshment stop.
But for those who still
Travel the four directions,
The way to Acoma
Is always the way.

William Oandasan